DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 173 003 RC 011 464

AUTHOR	Carter, Thomas P.; Segura, Roberto D.
TITLE	Mexican Americans in School: A Decade of Change.
INSTITUTION	College Entrance Examination Board, New York, N.Y. Coll. Scholarship Service.
PUB DATE	79
NOTE	442p.; Not available in hard copy due to publisher's request; For related document see ED 037 294 ; Small print in tables may be marginally legible
AVAILABLE FROM	College Board Publication Orders, Box 2815, Princeton, New Jersey 08541 ($9.95)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement; Acculturation; Bilingual Education; Change Strategies; *Compensatory Education Programs; Cultural Traits; *Educational Change; Educational Disadvantagement; *Educational Problems; *Mexican Americans; Minority Groups; Multicultural Education; *School Community Relationship; School Policy; School Role; School Segregation; Socioeconomic Influences; *Student School Relationship
IDENTIFIERS	Chicanos; *United States (Southwest)

ABSTRACT

Various explanations and possible solutions for the low social status and poor school achievement of the Mexican American are the subject of this book, which examines ethnic characteristics of the Mexican American, socioeconomic conditions in the five southwestern states, and practices and policies of the schools in the Southwest. This book grew out of an earlier work ("Mexicans in School: A History of Educational Neglect") based on the Mexican American Study Project; to supplement the background provided by that extensive investigation, the authors conducted 100 interviews and examined research studies of the past decade, as well as reports of special programs for Mexican Americans that resulted from federal funding for minority group education projects. Chapter headings include "A History of Educational Neglect," "The Outcome of Schooling," "The Failure of the Chicano," "The Default of the School," "Efforts to Adjust the Child," and "Efforts to Modify the Institution." A final chapter analyzes the failure of compensatory education programs and recommends strategies for effectively changing educational policies and practices. A bibliography of nearly 400 titles is appended. (JH)

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Mexican Americans in School:

A Decade of Change

College Entrance
Examination Board
New York, 1979

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Book design by Lucy M. Fehr
Cover design by Terrence M. Fehr

Copies of this book may be ordered from College Board
Publication Orders, Box 2815, Princeton, New Jersey 08541.
The price is $9.95.

Editorial inquiries concerning this book should be directed
to Editorial Office, The College Board,
888 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York 10019.

Photographs by Michal Heron from Monkmeyer Press (cover,
pages 12–13, 123, 238–239, 256–257, 372–373); Toge Fujihira
from Monkmeyer Press (pages ii–iii, 72–73); Mimi Forsyth
from Monkmeyer Press (pages 29, 301).

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 77-95391
Printed in the United States of America

To Professor George I. Sánchez,
a great teacher

Contents

Foreword 1

Introduction 5

1. A History of Educational Neglect 13
    Overview 15
    Summary 27
2. The Outcomes of Schooling 29
    Role of the School 31
    Participation in School 37
        Attainment and Enrollment 41
        School Holding Power 43
        Higher Education 49
        Cocurricular Activities 58
    Learning in School 60
        Academic Achievement 61
    Concluding Thoughts 70

3. The Failure of the Chicano 73
    Cultural Deprivation 75
    Chicano Culture 78
        Folk Culture 80
        Values and Orientations 83
        Language Problem 91
        Intellectual Inferiority 96
        Health and Nutrition 98
        Apathy and Poverty 101
        Special Talent in Art and Music 104
    Related Attributes and Beliefs 105
        Negative Self-Concept 106
        Cognitive Style 113
        Summary and Conclusions 119

7

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4. **The Default of the School** 123
- Segregation and Isolation 128
  - De Jure and de Facto Segregation 130
  - Isolation by Staff Assignment 144
  - Brain Drain 148
- Separation in Mixed Schools 150
  - Ethnic Cleavage 151
  - Separation by Curriculum 155
  - Homogeneous Ability Grouping 156
  - Special Education 168
  - May 25 Memorandum 178
- Cultural Exclusion and Distortion 180
  - Authoritarianism versus Defeatism 182
  - No-Spanish Rule 184
  - Informal Curriculum 188
  - Formal Curriculum 194
- Perceptions, Facilities, and Effort 203
  - Teacher Views and Behavior 203
  - Mexican American Teachers 216
  - Quality of Effort 220
  - Financial Effort 224
- Summary and Conclusions 235

5. **Further Considerations** 239
- Home and School Influences 240
- Social Forces 251
- Summary 255

6. **Efforts to Adjust the Child** 257
- Compensatory and Remedial Programs 259
  - NIE Study 261
  - Preschool Programs 265
  - English as a Second Language 271
  - Remedial Reading 274
  - Other Language Arts 282
  - Compensating for Other Deficiencies 285
  - Affective Deficiencies 286

Upgrading the Schools 288
    Curricular Improvements 288
    Staff Improvements 292
    Equalizing Equipment and Facilities 297
Summary and Conclusion 299

7. **Efforts to Modify the Institution** 301
Differing Attempts 302
    Migrant Education 303
    School-Community Relations 306
    Edgewood School Plan 313
    Desegregation Outcomes 322
Bilingual Education 328
    Language Programs in the Southwest 328
    Bilingual-Bicultural Organization 334
    Government Intervention 349
    Does It Work? 361
Summary and Conclusion 370

8. **The Past, the Present, and the Future** 373
From Then to Now 374
What Next? 381
    Upgrading the Chicano 381
    Quality Education 385
Closing Thoughts 391

Appendix A: El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán 393
Appendix B: Spanish-Surname Populations in Seven Colleges and Universities, 1966–67 397
Appendix C: Summary of Findley and Bryan's Study 398
Appendix D: Description of Edgewood Research Design 406
Appendix E: Reports on Edgewood School Plan 409
Appendix F: Bilingual Syntax Measure 411

Bibliography 412

Tables

1. Median Years of Schooling Completed by Adults 25 and Older 38
2. Rural-Urban Differences in Median Years of Mexican American Schooling, 1970 43
3. Percentages of Population Enrolled in Southwestern Schools 44
4. Projections of School Holding Power in Texas 46
5. School Holding Power by States 48
6. Full-Time Undergraduate Enrollment as a Percentage of Total Enrollment, by Ethnicity 50
7. Ethnic and Racial Composition of Southwestern Public Elementary and Secondary Schools 51
8. Full-Time Undergraduate Enrollment as a Percentage of Total Enrollment, 1974 52
9. Estimated College Holding Power of Full-Time Undergraduates, 1974 54
10. Estimated School Holding Power, First Grade to College Graduation 55
11. California Higher Education Enrollments, Fall 1974 56
12. Ethnic Enrollment in California State University and Colleges System 57
13. Chicano Undergraduate Enrollment in University of California System 57
14. Participation in Extracurricular Activities in Secondary Schools, 1969 59
15. Estimated Reading Levels in Southwest, 1969 63
16. Reading Achievement by States 65
17. Achievement among Western School Students, 1975 67
18. Percentage of Students Repeating First and Fourth Grades, 1969 69
19. Percentage of Pupils Two or More Years Overage 69
20. Classification of Major Differences between Mexican American and Anglo Value Systems 84

21. Twelfth-Grade Responses to Questions on Control of Environment and Self-Concept 88
22. Means of Scores on Tennessee Self-Concept Scale 112
23. Texas School Segregation at Different Grade Levels 131
24. Mexican Americans in Predominantly Mexican American Schools by School Levels 137
25. Mexican American School Enrollment by Ethnic Proportions of Southwestern Schools 138
26. Percentage of Black and Latino Children in Minority Schools 139
27. California Pupil Distribution in All Schools 50 Percent or More Minority 141
28. Incidence of Ethnic and Racial Isolation in California, Fall 1973 141
29. Concentration of Mexican American Enrollment in Large Urban School Districts 142
30. Mexican American Students in Selected City Districts 143
31. Estimated Employment of Mexican American School Staff in the Southwest 146
32. Assignment of Mexican American Teachers by School Composition and by State 149
33. Grouping and Tracking Practices in Southwestern School Districts 160
34. Distribution of Chicanos and Anglos in Specified Ability Track Levels 161
35. Comparison of IQ and Physical Disability Scores by Ethnic Group 170
36. Comparison of Educable Mentally Retarded Placements in California Schools by Ethnicity 174
37. California Enrollment Changes in Classes for Mentally Retarded 175
38. Special School Services Provided in Texas, 1974–75 176
39. Percentage of Schools Discouraging Spanish, 1969 186
40. Percentage of Schools Discouraging Spanish in Classrooms 186
41. Methods to Discourage Spanish Speaking 187
42. Percentage of Schools Providing Spanish American Unit in Social Studies Classes 199

43. Average Measures of Pupil Interaction for Individual Mexican American and Anglo Students 212
44. Teacher Shortages in Texas Analyzed According to Population Characteristics, 1964–65 to 1966–67 223
45. Selected Statistics on School Effort 225
46. Disparities in School Finance in Southwestern States 228
47. Texas Expenditures per Pupil from State and Local Revenue Sources, 1967–68 229
48. Indicators of Quality Education in Texas, 1967–68 230
49. Two Texas Districts, 1967–68 230
50. Reasons Given by Dropouts for Leaving Six Texas Schools 248
51. Activities and Services Provided under Title I of Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1965–66 260
52. English as a Second Language in the Southwest 273
53. ESL and Mexican American Percentage in School 274
54. Schools Offering Remedial Reading 276
55. Progress in Remedial and Corrective Reading, California School Districts, 1965–66 278
56. California Title I Reading Achievement, 1974–75 280
57. Monthly Gains in Reading in California, 1974–75 282
58. Southwestern Language Programs 330

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Foreword

When Mexican American children first arrive at the school door, they are emotionally healthy and intellectually normal. They may be culturally and socially different, however. As educators we have a responsibility to reinforce the above three attributes. As educators we want desperately to do what is right for our student clients. Our educational training and background, however, did not prepare us adequately to deal with students who are socially different. One of the primary purposes of this book is to overcome that deficiency.

The reader who is knowledgeable about educational issues needs no reminder of the paucity of information on education and the Mexican American. The writers are few and materials are scarce. Only recently have scholars begun to produce data related to the country's second largest minority and fastest growing ethnic group. The authors of this work are included in these ranks of scholars.

Thomas P. Carter, under the tutelage of George I. Sánchez, the father of educational concerns for the Mexican American, makes his second major contribution. Roberto D. Segura joins him, bringing to this work his scholarship and insights from his personal experiences.

Their work is significant on at least two counts. First, their research and critical observation are based on solid scholarship; second, the book is a sorely needed addition to a developing body of knowledge. The authors present an updated snapshot of Mexican American education and a comprehensive analysis of the issues confronting not the Mexican American child but rather the nation and its institutions of formal education. The tragic findings shown in the tables reflect not the student's inability to learn but rather our inability as educators to teach.

Ten years ago George I. Sánchez wrote in his foreword to Dr. Carter's *Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect* (p. xi): "The wages of political docility and apathy, of unbelievably low income, of incredibly poor education, of virtual serfdom are incalculable—for all citizens, not only for Mexican Americans. Infant mortality, tuberculosis, political bossism, disdain for 'that Mexican,' disdain for his language and culture—these and many other results of the majority population's presumption of Mexican American inferiority are evidenced wherever one looks in school curriculums, teacher education, appointments to significant political offices. The state of Texas is the worst offender, but it does not by any means stand alone in the default of intelligence and conscience in this field.

"Many times I have pointed out that the Mexican American is not an immigrant. As an Indian, the Southwest has been his home from time immemorial. As a Spaniard, borrowing the phrase from Will Rogers, he could have sent a committee to welcome John Smith to Jamestown. The United States took over the Southwest and thereby assumed responsibilities and moral obligations. These are yet to be fully discharged. I would not argue for the return of land grants, nor even for strict compliance with the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. But I do argue for a realistic appraisal of the status, and its causes, of the American of Mexican descent."

Dr. Sánchez saw many social and educational improvements, especially toward the end of his productive life. He remained the optimist, convinced—and convincing others—that the American people would not tolerate injustice and educational neglect. Although not all his dreams have been fulfilled, he would take just pride in the many accomplishments of "his people." His people were *all* people as well as those with whom he shared the Mexican cultural tradition. Yet he would be the first to encourage us to pursue the real American dream of justice and equal educational opportunity.

Two thousand years from now, when some historian attempts to ascertain why the United States of America reached its point of influence and power within the family of nations in the twentieth century, the reader will have to conclude that a great part of this country's uniqueness was related to the noble experiment to educate the children of all the people. No other country in history has committed itself to a system of education similar to our own. The experiment has undoubtedly met with some successes. Lest we make ourselves more virtuous than we are, however, we must pause and reflect on why the success has not been greater. To date, the successes have in part been attributable to a commitment by the educational system to offer the same program to all learners and a willingness by the learners to subject themselves to the same programs. The instructional programs offered in Bangor, Maine; Key West, Florida; Kansas City, Missouri; Seattle, Washington; and San Diego, California, have been frighteningly pallid reflections one of the other. Uniformity may not always be desirable.

As you study this work, keep in mind that countless generations of minorities have willingly subjected themselves to the historical amalgamation or acculturation goal. It appears that the ethnic and racial minorities still outside the mainstream present the nation with an alternative, one in which the public schools would not serve as a filter, demanding that all cultural differences be sublimated at best or stripped away at worst before mainstream entry can be effected. In particular the Mexican American desires to enter the mainstream as a whole person, not only one who has techniques and competence to survive in the English-speaking world, but also one whose cultural integrity has been reinforced and nurtured to emotional health.

It appears to this writer that the authors are making a significant contribution to the notion of cultural celebration: Tens of thousands of teachers need this book, our country deserves it, and millions of children demand it.

John Aragón, President
New Mexico Highlands University

Introduction

The Mexican American ethnic group is an enigma to nonprofessionals as well as to many educators and social scientists. American society has ingested diverse foreign peoples, assimilating and acculturating them, but those of Mexican ancestry appear to stand out as a glaring exception. As a group, Chicanos hang on to substantial elements of the Mexican culture and continue to have low social and economic status, although many can trace their origins in the Southwest to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The majority are descendants of Mexicans who arrived in this century. Unlike most other national groups, Mexicans continue legal and illegal immigration at a lively pace. Social scientists concerned with formal education pose a related question: Why has the school failed to help Mexican Americans climb the social ladder and lose their foreignness? It is argued that the school played a relatively insignificant role in this regard with other immigrant groups. Most educators and laymen, however, believe that acculturation is a primary function of the American school. Contemporary Chicano leaders and some educators ask, "Why should the school function to acculturate foreign groups? Is it the role of the school to 'destroy' one culture while forcing children to become bearers of middle-class culture?" These issues relate closely to fundamental assumptions about our schools and our society.

Despite diverse philosophies about acculturation as a function of education, the school obviously continues to fail the Mexican Americans. How can their low academic achievement be explained? Why do Chicanos tend to leave school early and in such large numbers? Why have few learned the skills necessary to advance socially and economically? Why have many retained traditional cultural forms? Why does the Spanish language persevere in the Southwest? These questions should intrigue all who are seriously concerned with the school's role in society. For answers we must analyze the ethnic group, the school, and the society.

Explanation of the school's failure with the Mexican American ethnic group reiterates two polar themes. During our early professional careers we found the cultural determinist position plausible and

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sufficient. This theory reasons that the hold of Mexican culture is exceptionally great: It not only is strong enough to resist acculturation but also is ingrained and self-sustaining to the point of discouraging individual aspirations toward education and social advancement. This position was supported by the omnipresent stereotype of Chicanos and their Mexican culture as a monolithic and static folk tradition. Although our backgrounds differed greatly, we were generally convinced that poor social and educational achievement was due to the inappropriate home culture. The few Mexican Americans who succeeded, and thus violated the stereotype, were rationalized as exceptions. We later questioned these naive assumptions and recognized that explanation was best found within the socioeconomic conditions in the Southwest and within the practices and policies of the schools. Here our experiences varied significantly; therefore, we shall individually explain the growth and change in our perceptions.

T.P.C.: Two events forced a more profound examination. The first was my acquaintance with George I. Sánchez, professor at the University of Texas at Austin. Dr. Sánchez led me to look beyond simplistic arguments and explanations to elements within the dominant socioeconomic system as well as within the schools themselves. His penetrating analysis of a dynamic and diverse Mexican American subculture prompted more questions. Because few substantial studies described the existing cultural variations and the rapid changes taking place, my questions persisted. The second challenge to my not so firmly held beliefs was an invitation to cooperate with the Mexican American Study Project, financed by the Ford Foundation, at the University of California at Los Angeles. The project director, Leo Grebler, as well as his colleagues Joan W. Moore and Ralph C. Guzman, also questioned simplistic explanations. This group had the funds and the investigative skills necessary to make an objective study of Mexican Americans in the Southwest. In January 1965 I began a substudy of the role of the schools in Mexican American life. Financed by a grant from the College Entrance Examination Board to the Mexican American Study Project, this substudy culminated in *Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect* (1970). The parent study was published by The Free Press under the title *The Mexican American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority.*

To the individuals and organizations mentioned above and to the project's excellent research staff, I am grateful. The staff's analysis of the data and of the pertinent literature helped me to understand the complexity of the Mexican American situation in the five Southwestern states. The project's findings on the culture's diversity and the group's persistently low social status have provided the hard data essential to social scientists. It is hoped the study helped to destroy the widely accepted stereotype that had been used to explain school withdrawal and low academic achievement.

Planning the first study presented difficulties. Many of the earlier books and papers were of questionable validity. Those relevant to education were of five general kinds: (1) studies measuring achievement and years of schooling, which varied greatly in degree of sophistication; (2) studies relating socioeconomic factors, and occasionally cultural values and orientations, to achievement and years of schooling; (3) studies explaining these conditions; (4) papers advocating special programs, which were sometimes polemical; and (5) curricular materials. Literature in category (3) almost invariably ascribed Mexican American school failure (low achievement and early withdrawal) to conditions within the home. Little had been written about the interaction of cause and effect among the three important variables – the school, the social system, and the Mexican American subcultural group. The available literature, however, clearly demonstrated that Mexican Americans often do poorly in school, drop out early, speak Spanish, and are poor. These four factors are usually seen as causal and circular: Chicanos do poorly in school because they are poor, speak Spanish, and are culturally Mexican; or Mexican Americans are poor, speak Spanish, and carry a traditional folk culture because they do poorly in school. Most research slighted the socioeconomic influence; the nature and outcomes of school programs, policies, and practices; and the more recent considerations of school social climate. There was little analysis of school intervention in the apparently self-perpetuating cycle of poverty – school failure – poverty.

Because funds were not available for a large-scale survey of students (Mexican American and other) and schools in the Southwest, the first study was undertaken in two phases. A few excellent publications were found, which are cited in both books. In the second phase educators were interviewed and schools and special projects were visited throughout the Southwest. Over 250 educators and a few laymen (for example, school board members) were formally interviewed. Some interviews were tape-recorded; in most, the interviewer took notes. Special school programs and everyday classes were observed. Teachers were questioned about their perceptions of Chicano behavior and achievement in school. Selected staff members were interviewed in both urban and rural schools. Although Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico were also visited, the field research was concentrated in California and Texas because (1) the Mexican American population is concentrated in those two states; (2) California had the best record in schooling for Mexican Americans and Texas had the worst record; and (3) two cities, Los Angeles and San Antonio, had been studied intensively by the Mexican American Study Project.

Each formal interview focused on six major areas: (1) the extent and nature of the interviewee's experience with Mexican Americans; (2) the ethnic and socioeconomic community served by the school; (3) the nature of the school – organization, finance, degree of segregation, special programs; (4) the interviewee's perceptions of Mexican American children – their personalities, families, community; (5) the achievement in school and years of schooling of local Mexican Americans contrasted with other groups; (6) the reasons for Mexican American success or failure in school. In addition, questions were asked about the influence on Mexican Americans of specific school practices: tracking, segregation, no-Spanish rules, ethnic cleavage, teachers' personalities, Mexican American teachers, use and reliability of IQ information. Numerous direct quotations were included in the report, but only a few interviewees were named.

This first formal study (1965–68) caused me to reject vehemently the cultural determinist explanation and to gain a growing understanding of the multitude of legal, social, economic, and educational circumstances that deter Chicano achievement and attainment. Over the years I found more evidence that the unique Southwestern experience was and is the major determinant of low assimilation and acculturation. Work with the United States Commission on Civil Rights reinforced this perception.

R.D.S.: Four major events changed my attitude toward the cultural determinist position. During my teaching preparation, I believed the school's function was to Americanize all children, particularly Mexican Americans. When I became a public school teacher, my awakening social consciousness began to reject the ethnocentric cultural determinist explanation; I realized that for most Mexican Americans, the schools were failing *them*. Fortunately, I met other Chicano teachers who were questioning the traditional explanation that Chicanos were unsuccessful because their cultural background predetermined failure. Recognizing that both school and society were at fault, I began to question whether the American school should homogenize cultural diversity. When I returned to the university for further study, naturally my interests focused on Chicano education.

Second, while working toward a doctorate at Washington State University, I became aware of the migrant problem. Social scientists I worked with helped me place Chicanos and migrancy in a broader regional context; previously, I had seen both from my limited New Mexican perspective. I analyzed my earlier personal experiences within a new, more intellectually intense framework. My perspectives continued to broaden.

The third experience that caused me to question further the acculturationist role of the school was my involvement with the National Education Task Force de la Raza. This organization increased my understanding of the social, institutional, legal, and political aspects of the problem.

The fourth experience was my introduction to Thomas P. Carter at California State University, Sacramento. As faculty colleagues, we shared many questions and generally concurred in the answers. I became increasingly convinced that school and society are primarily responsible for the continuing underachievement and underattainment. We have too long blamed Chicano cultural and personal deficiencies for educational failure; this study may help reverse earlier explanations.

When the College Board asked us to consider a second edition, we recognized our limitations. We could not replicate the fieldwork undertaken for the first edition; however, we interviewed some 100 persons, focusing on the same six major areas of the first study. Although field observation and interviews were the primary sources of information for the first edition, there were other sources in the middle 1970s. Ten years of published research – some of it of exceptionally high quality – was of great help.

In the first edition, solutions to the problem were limited. The chapter entitled "Special School Programs for Mexican American Children" was only about 50 pages. In the intervening 10 years, billions of dollars in federal and state aid have supported a multitude of remedial and compensatory programs, and the bilingual-bicultural educational movement has been firmly established. This book both describes and explains the problem; more important, it explores steps taken or proposed to solve the problem. The conditions are presented over time; the past is contrasted with the present. What are the changes? Has the social and academic achievement of the group improved significantly? If so, to what degree can this change be attributed to school efforts? What school programs (or modifications) will most aid Chicanos? It is hoped that this work will aid the reader to recognize the complexity of the situation, to reject simplistic educational solutions, and to develop approaches that consider the interrelationships of school and society.

We have reserved the term *Spanish American* for the group in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, a group known also as *hispanos*. As George I. Sánchez mentioned in his foreword to the first edition, much confusion exists about the proper way to designate those of Mexican descent or origin. We use the terms *Mexican American* and *Chicano* interchangeably. Although the word Chicano may be objectionable to a few, it is commonly accepted throughout the country. A term that may be unfamiliar to some readers is *Anglo*. It is inaccurate, but it is common in the Southwest. Anglo refers to the "white" group, those who are not black, Mexican American, or members of another minority group. Some people use it to mean white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP), but we restrict it to members of the nonminority population. Anglo is a relatively new term – finding its origins in the Spanish *Anglosajón* ("Anglo-Saxon") – and refers to the dominant social element. It is not an ethnic group; there is no sense of group loyalty to cultural or national origins or to language.

We have omitted a history of Chicanos in the Southwest, as well as a detailed description of the group's socioeconomic condition, and have included only what seems pertinent to education. For current demographic and historical information and analysis, we recommend

The Mexican American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority; North From Mexico; and the United States Commission on Civil Rights Reports 1–6.

In dedicating this book to the late George I. Sánchez, and thus to his lifelong effort to help the underdog, we are reminded of this anecdote. When anyone asked George what he preferred to be called (an ever-recurring Anglo question), he always replied, "I don't care what you call me, just so you call me to dinner." We hope this book may help to demonstrate that Mexican Americans even now have not been "called to dinner" and that the schools continue to fail to prepare them to eat when and if they are finally invited.

1: A History of Educational Neglect

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During the 1960s the Southwest finally awoke to the Mexican American reality. Educators belatedly recognized that Chicano school enrollment and academic achievement were substantially lower than for other groups and that the dropout (or pushout) rate was alarmingly high. Other social indicators were equally depressing: High rates of unemployment and underemployment were characteristic; Chicanos were grossly overrepresented in low-skill occupations. Housing was poor; political participation was low. Mexican Americans were victims of the typical poverty syndrome. The nation's second largest minority was more economically, socially, and educationally disadvantaged than blacks. Only Native Americans were lower. The response in the Southwest was somewhat peculiar to the region, but in general was similar to the reaction to poverty groups in other areas. Inspired by other movements—directed and financially supported by the government—the nation took steps to eliminate poverty and to improve the plight of Mexican Americans. Schools were charged with major responsibilities in this war on poverty.

Before the 1960s the deplorable situation of the Mexican American was little known outside the Southwest; within the area it was accepted as the natural order and had been ignored for decades. Chicanos had lived in the area for generations, existing as a castelike, subordinate population. Official and institutional concern for their social and economic circumstances was negligible and slow to arrive. As with other ethnic groups, the public and educators alike assumed that low socioeconomic status and school failure were the natural and understandable consequences of racial or cultural inferiority. These assumptions have deep roots and tend to persist. In the last decade untold billions have been poured into special programs "for the poor, the disadvantaged, and the deprived." The civil rights movement led the battle to remove legal and institutional racism. No nation has attempted more; yet problems plague us. What has been accomplished? Were the assumptions of the causes of disadvantagedness correct? Were our strategies appropriate, and what has been their result? Have basic attitudes changed? The product of a decade of serious effort is in question. Mexican Americans may no longer be neglected, as stated earlier; however, the social and educational results of national efforts seem similar to those of neglect. To what degree did heightened political awareness and action, major legal changes, seemingly thousands of school programs, and the war on poverty make significant or lasting differences in the lives of some 13 million Mexican Americans?

OVERVIEW

In the first years of this century, as the Mexican American population in the Southwestern United States began its rapid increase, Anglo society – that is, the dominant white society – was unconcerned about the schooling of "Mexicans." Educators shared the community's view of them as outsiders who were never expected to participate fully in American life. Attitudes were tinged with racial prejudice; literature emphasized the inadequacies of the child of Mexican descent. The typically low test scores of the children were considered evidence of innate intellectual inferiority, which in turn was thought to justify school segregation. Mexicans were said to be capable only of manual labor; in fact, some Anglos were afraid that education would make them useless even for farm work. As one Texas farmer put it: "I am for education and educating my own children. But the Mexicans, like some whites, get some education and then they can't labor. They think it is a disgrace to work. The illiterate makes the best farm labor . . ." (Taylor 1934, p. 196). Often racist beliefs provided sufficient rationale for low school and social expectations. The use of "Mexicans" instead of Mexican Americans, Latins, Spanish, or similar terms seems pejorative. The Anglos used that one term, usually in a derogatory sense, to describe immigrants to the United States as well as nationals of the nation to our south; the derisive implications of the term persevere to the present day.

By expecting minority children to fail in school and society and doing nothing to aid them, society produced the human types needed. The dominant society ensured the perpetuation of the two-class (or dual-caste) social system engendered by ranching, railroading, and mining – the economic bases of the Southwest of that period. The predominantly rural Southwest educated the dominant group's children to assume their natural role as leaders, managers, and owners, and schooled Mexican Americans to assume their natural role as farm and ranch workers. A *patrón* and *peón* society was fostered, supported, and perpetuated. The plantation and ranch economy required many docile yet hard workers and a very small management group. Mining and railroading demanded a similar social relationship between workers and managers. Too much education for the docile workers might destroy the delicate social equilibrium necessary to maintain these economic systems. The school reflected and perpetuated local society. It still does. Regional variations in Mexican American achievement and attainment probably mirror the economic and dependent social systems more than any other factors.

Mexican American children suffered not only the general inadequacies and discrimination of the rural school and castelike community social structure but also the additional handicap of migrancy. Many children who traveled from area to area working the fields were not in school at all. In these early years, when few minority children attended school past the primary grades, their failure in school was seen as natural by educators and by Anglos in general. To question this normalcy would have implied a challenge to the social system and cultural values of the time. Few school reformers came forward to impugn the educational folk wisdom or, much less, the establishment. Still fewer directed their attention to the special problems of learning a new culture and language.

These few voices had a familiar ring. Because the "Mexican problem" and the "Negro problem" were similar, solutions were similar, as this statement from 1914 exemplifies: "Just so surely as Booker T. Washington is right in saying that Tuskegee and similar institutions are the ultimate solution of the Negro problem, so surely is the same kind of education the necessary basis upon which to build a thorough and complete solution of the Mexican problem. Like the Negro, the Mexicans are a child-race without the generations of civilization and culture back of them which support the people of the United States" (McEwen 1914, p. 102). As with other immigrant or low-caste groups, the Mexican Americans were said to cause their own problem. Rarely were their difficulties considered socioeconomic or institutional. Rarely was racism perceived as the cause. If the Chicanos were their own problem, the solution was simple. Schooling was a series of steps to adjust the "child-races" to perform adequately in the lowest levels of society.

The closed, castelike social system of the Southwest was perpetuated, and occupancy of the low caste by "Mexicans" was justified and rationalized. Such schooling would inculcate the richness of American civilization and culture and ultimately overcome the inadequacies attributed to the Mexican race or culture.

During the Depression many rural Mexican Americans migrated to cities, bringing their problems to a wider consciousness. This rural-to-urban migration led to social and personal dislocations and to sharply contrasting experiences. The closed social systems of the rural Southwest poorly prepared Chicanos to adjust to urban conditions. Rural agricultural, mining, and railroading skills and low levels of formal schooling rarely meshed with urban job demands. Depression-era city dwellers, suffering from unemployment and underemployment, were not eager to accept these new immigrants from the countryside. Competition for the little available employment was extreme. It is not surprising that some of the educational literature of this period described Mexican Americans as disease-ridden, inclined toward violence and crime, innately inferior, yet simple and artistic (see Carpenter 1935; Southwest Texas State Teachers College 1944a, 1944b).

During this period the Chicanos in urban centers were reacting, and being reacted to, similarly to previous new arrivals. Educators in the 1930s and through the mid-1940s stressed that the school would acculturate the new foreigners. Appropriate methods of Americanization were recommended in the hope that they would modify ". . . Mexican children from half-hearted Americans into law-abiding and useful American citizens" (Gould 1932, p. 1; for further information about Americanization see Cornelius 1941; Greer 1972; Hayden 1934; Kaderli 1940; Lehman 1947; Leis 1931; Murphy 1939; Treff 1934).

School programs for Chicano children during the 1930s emphasized vocational and manual arts training; learning of English; health and hygiene; and adoption of American core values such as cleanliness, thrift, and punctuality. Segregation, especially in the early grades, was regularly recommended and commonly established. It was inexplicably argued that Americanization could best be accomplished by keeping foreigners out of contact with Americans. Racial exclusiveness and the fear of social or racial contamination must be assumed to be the implicit, but real, argument for such school segregation. Despite this gradual change from the Tuskegee educational model to the acculturate-to-assimilate philosophy, many problems persisted. Some studies continued to find Mexican American children mentally inferior, although this view gradually changed as IQ began to be considered a reflection of learned culture and the child's social environment. It is probably fair to say that the thirties and forties began the painfully slow decline of the racist explanation of low innate potential of the group and the beginning of alternative explanations for low IQ scores. The racist explanation, however, still has adherents among educators.

During the thirties and forties, California and New Mexico showed considerably more concern for the Spanish-speaking groups than Texas did. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, New Mexico established special educational approaches and programs for Spanish Americans, most notably the Taos County Project and the Nambe Program (see Chapter 7 of this book; Reid 1946; Tireman and Watson 1943).

The Second World War formally ended the Depression period and brought massive social, economic, and educational changes. It accelerated the rural-to-urban influx of Mexican Americans. Although interethnic conflict was often a concomitant of this migration, the war served to strengthen Western Hemisphere ties: the Good Neighbor policy was established between the United States and Latin American countries. These two divergent trends resulted in the development and promulgation of intercultural education. Usually programs promoting intercultural education were little more than token gestures of appreciation of the distinctive Latin American cultural heritage, invariably ignoring Chicano culture and heritage as well as the group's social and economic problems in the Southwest.

Any attention directed to the Chicano was probably prompted by economic considerations. During World War II the federal government contracted with Mexico for agricultural labor. The Mexican government, however, refused to permit its nationals to work in certain areas of Texas because discrimination against Mexican Americans was rampant, and the Mexican government feared equally bad or worse treatment for its nationals. This situation stimulated the creation of the Texas Good Neighbor Commission and encouraged state education authorities to plan programs to improve the education of children of Mexican descent. For the most part this token effort effected little or no change in teacher attitudes and behavior or in discriminatory school policies and practices. The Texas Good Neighbor Commission's limited approach was evidenced by its recommendations: "First, to promote adult and youth classes and clubs practicing conversational Spanish. Second, to encourage civic leaders to organize Good Neighbor community committees in every section of the State. Third, to stimulate exchanging of letters so each school child will become his own Good Neighbor and correspond with a child of similar age in Mexico. Fourth, to coordinate our programs with other state agencies, businesses, civic and church organizations, Boy Scouts, 4-H, YMCA, etc. Fifth, to urge Latin Americans [Mexican Americans] to become citizens in fact as well as in name by paying their poll tax and voting" (Clinchy 1954, pp. 166–167; see also Daustin 1943; Tanner 1944; Trillingham and Hughes 1943). At best, the program must have helped teachers and others overcome some of their biases against the culture and language of our good neighbors to the south. The degree of this change in perceptions of Mexican American culture and local Spanish is not known. Perhaps the elimination of one set of biases about Latin Americans merely forced educators to exclude Mexican Americans from that group by insisting that the local population did not have high-quality Latin culture and spoke a substandard Spanish. Despite the negative aspects, this official Texas declaration urged Americanization and pointed out that Mexican Americans could be brought up and in to American society.

Increasing public concern for the special education problems of Mexican Americans is shown in the records of teachers' conferences and workshops beginning in the 1930s. Besides efforts to develop special teaching methods, there were earnest recommendations to apprise teachers of the cultural and socioeconomic background of the pupils and to help them cope with instruction in English—including, in more recent years, the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL). Although the conferences proliferated in the years following World War II, a comparison of discussion topics and recommendations of an early postwar conference with one almost 20 years later revealed little change. The 1946 First Regional Conference on the Education of Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest, held in Austin, Texas, argued for an end to de jure school segregation, for a relevant curriculum built around the Mexican American community, for improved and special teacher preparation (particularly with respect to teachers' perceptions or attitudes), for increased efficiency in teaching English, and for improvement in school physical facilities. It was recognized that Mexican Americans' school attendance was poor, that their academic achievement was low, and that there was imperative need to improve their socioeconomic status. Eighteen years later, the 1964 Orange County Conference on the Education of Spanish-Speaking Children and Youth, held in Garden Grove, California, reiterated the emphases of the earlier conference. Participants stressed the need for special teacher preparation, the undemocratic nature of the continuing de facto segregation, and the need to improve the teaching of English (California State Department of Education 1964). There was less emphasis on radical curricular change or intercultural education, but there was a strong recommendation to include cultural heritage material such as the celebration of *Cinco de Mayo*, the Mexican holiday.

Through the 1960s the emphasis on the socioeconomic plight of racial and ethnic groups, combined with the civil rights movement, led to the recognition that failure in school was endemic to poverty groups. The schools were condemned for not providing the poor with the cognitive skills and values that would permit entry into, and success in, modern industrial society. The schools had failed their obligation to equalize opportunity and thus make middle-class Americans out of the foreign and the poor. The products of this failure were the unemployed, the unemployable, and the disaffected. The defects of the ghetto and barrio school were emphasized. Attempts to equalize facilities, staffs, and programs were supported by government and private sources. Fear by the haves of the have-nots unquestionably played a significant role in efforts to improve the school. Riots, strikes, boycotts, sit-ins, and confrontations contributed to the fear as well as to the action. Both institutional and personal racism and their relationship to poverty were more carefully examined than during any other period in our history. Steps were taken to lessen racism's manifestations in the schools.

The strategy of the war on poverty of the 1960s was threefold. According to Jencks, the school's war on poverty rested firmly on the following assumptions (1972, p. 7):

"1. Eliminating poverty is largely a matter of helping children born into poverty to rise out of it. Once families escape from poverty, they do not fall back into it. Middle-class children rarely end up poor.

"2. The primary reason poor children do not escape from poverty is that they do not acquire basic cognitive skills. They cannot read, write, calculate, or articulate. Lacking these skills, they cannot get or keep a well-paid job.

"3. The best mechanism for breaking this vicious circle is educational reform. Since children born into poor homes do not acquire the skills they need from their parents, they must be taught these skills in school. This can be done by making sure that they attend the same schools as middle-class children, by giving them extra compensatory programs in school, by giving their parents a voice in running their schools, or by some combination of all three approaches."

Educators accepted attempts to improve the school as long as the changes were based on assumptions inherent in the idea of cultural deprivation and did not involve major structural modification of their institutions. Funds for more and better equipment, smaller classrooms, remedial or compensatory programs, improved teachers, and teacher aides were all institutionally acceptable. Desegregation and community involvement in decision making were resisted. The resistance to desegregation continues and is probably increasing. At best, community involvement has become a highly formalized exercise in all but a few schools, acceptable as a means to modify the poor but unacceptable as a means to modify the school.

In 1965 Lyndon Johnson signed into law the major and prototypal educational legislation of the war on poverty. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA, P.L. 89-10) was to lead to President Johnson's promised Great Society. During the subsequent decade $16.7 billion was appropriated; uncalculated state, county, city, and district dollars were contributed. In spite of the great amounts of money, the disadvantaged children who were to be the primary beneficiaries seldom received more than an additional $200 per academic year (Halperin 1975, p. 147). ESEA focused on five major areas: ". . . helping disadvantaged children, starting school libraries, promoting communitywide projects for educational change, spurring educational research and development, and upgrading state departments of education" (Halperin, p. 147). The first two thrusts of ESEA efforts concern us most and certainly represent the major emphasis. Funds for activities to aid disadvantaged children almost invariably supported efforts to modify the child through compensatory or remedial programs. The debate continues over their effectiveness.

It is almost impossible to analyze the consequences of ESEA and related legislation of the late 1960s. There is no well-documented evidence to link ESEA efforts directly to improved academic achievement. Community involvement to further educational change presents an equally pessimistic picture in the contemporary scene. It is even difficult to agree on what are positive and what are negative results of ESEA: What may be positive to one educator is negative to another. Subsequent chapters describe and analyze specific programs. Suffice it to say that the federal educational effort corresponded to the predominant social and educational thinking of the period. Whether ESEA led the movement or reflected it is of little consequence. There is no question that ESEA made a significant contribution by focusing on institutional change, community participation, equal educational opportunity, disadvantaged children and their needs, non-English-speaking children, and even the evaluation-and-accountability movement. Although the assumptions on which most efforts for the disadvantaged rested are now questioned, ESEA must be credited with directing national attention to the educational needs of the disadvantaged.

The inability of educators and schools to respond adequately to the federal impetus must be viewed as a serious indictment of the institution and is probably the major lesson learned from ESEA. Bureaucracy, institutional rigidity, and vested interests can and do subvert the best intentions of government. Modifications of the school encouraged by outside forces are usually subverted or institutionally digested. The modifications become lost in unconscious institutional efforts to maintain the status quo. According to Wayson, a contemporary critic (1975, p. 156), "The ESEA was a complex phenomenon created in a complex era. It was a trial-and-error experiment in social change. It was a political expedient balancing demands for justice never delivered against cautions not to disturb institutions that support injustice. It was subjected to many unanticipated pressures and was implemented by people poorly prepared for the responsibility they bore. Such a complex experiment could never yield totally satisfactory results.

". . . Unquestionably, the ESEA will yield rich fruit in the next decade. But the future of American education depends upon how we respond to challenges arising from less positive results. The ESEA experience shows that:

"1. American schools and colleges have difficulty educating students who have not already learned from home and community.

"2. Colleges of education are neither inclined nor able to train educators to meet the needs of disadvantaged children.

"3. It is often ineffective to introduce 'specialists' into schools to provide remedial instruction for children identified by the system as needing such help.

"4. Monitoring can become an end in itself and can consume inordinate amounts of time, energy, finances, and morale with no compensatory gain for students.

"5. 'Data' collected for administrative purposes have more value for political than for educational or planning uses.

"6. [It is questionable] whether local school districts or states desire to educate disadvantaged children.

"7. [There are] doubts about originating programs at top levels of the school district (or at state level) and diffusing them to classrooms. . . .

"8. [There are] sophistry and pettifoggery in the present conduct of 'research' in education.

"9. . . . the success-producing features of educational programs are not necessarily 'packageable' and are not readily implemented through guidelines, nor are they measurable with the present methodology of educational research.

"10. America's blind faith in education and educators [is undermined].

"Inasmuch as the ESEA did not create these results, but merely raised to public view what had been there all the time, it may yet be the stimulus for a positive revolution."

The Mexican Americans as well as other minorities and the poor profited by, and suffered from, the war on poverty and its educational attack. In 1965 there were almost no special programs for Chicanos. During the subsequent decade attention was focused on the unequal facilities and staffs. Flagrant differences have generally been eliminated; subtle but persuasive inadequacies continue. The decade saw the development of a multitude of programs, almost all based on overcoming the Chicano's deficiencies. Some new deficiencies became popular: In addition to those associated with Mexicanness, schools concentrated on the Chicano's assumed negative self-concept. Sensitivity and T-group experiences became common and were seen by their sponsors as panaceas for low achievement. Educators related self-concept to academic achievement and initiated programs geared to enhance ethnic consciousness and thus overcome group negative feelings. Chicano history and culture programs or similar activities may have other objectives; many educators, however, saw them as aids to overcome ethnic self-hatred and to instill pride. It was argued that if Mexican Americans have self-pride and ethnic pride, they achieve more academically. It was deemed essential during this period that teachers should be specially prepared. Numerous programs, including Teacher Corps, were undertaken with varying outcomes. Although substantial institutional change was difficult to find, a few educators and social critics advocated radical educational reform to make school a relevant, exciting, learning-and-living experience. There were experimental schools and programs, but it is almost impossible to find them today.

Interest in, and excitement about, educational change lessened in the early 1970s. Skepticism became pervasive. Although the late 1960s, with all their turmoil, fostered optimism and action among many persons, subsequent years brought a growing recognition that the school *cannot change the child and will not change itself.* Popular support for change diminished. Multiethnic and multiracial political activism decreased with the evolutionary changes in the civil rights movement. The major advocates of change in the mid-1970s were the federal courts. Chicano activism also abated.

The years between 1965 and 1975 saw another major development. The early popular and governmental support for desegregation to achieve equal educational opportunity declined. There were strong arguments for exclusiveness and separateness for the benefit of Chicanos. "Separate but better" is increasingly advocated; optimism about the assumed benefits of desegregation has subsided. Little evidence supports increased achievement or attainment by Mexican Americans through desegregated schools. Antibusing and the neighborhood school find many advocates among all ethnic groups, and it is proposed that separate classes or schools stressing the Mexican American cultural heritage and Spanish will best overcome the Mexican American's assumed personal and cultural inadequacies. It is regularly, but certainly not universally, argued that this can best be accomplished in segregated facilities. Although bilingual education can be implemented in segregated or nonsegregated schools, it is most commonly found in predominantly Mexican American schools.

The Chicano, or *La Raza,* movement played a key role in the advocacy of school reform during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The movement is difficult to define or describe because it incorporates diverse human and ideological elements. It is generally perceived as a loosely organized, cultural-political movement with many differing and often contradictory objectives. Never static, it changes in form and substance regularly. Originally it was described as a grass-roots movement, drawing its strength from the very real and disaffected Mexican American community. In many ways it advocated the Great Society goals of Lyndon Johnson, employed the approaches of community organizing, and utilized the change techniques of the civil rights and student movements. Over time the movement changed; advocating at different times—and sometimes simultaneously—cultural autonomy, cultural revivalism, cultural pluralism, cultural nationalism, biculturalism, segregation, and desegregation. Tactics varied from boycott, confrontation, and threat to working within the system. During the movement's most active period, its educational goals adhered rather closely to those of the Great Society, yet with some important differences. *La Raza* worked diligently to involve the grass-roots community in educational change. ESEA objectives of advisory groups were supported, but a much more militant self-determination developed. The community—the barrio, *la colónia*—demanded an equal or sometimes dominant voice in educational decision making. Actions were strong and occasionally violent. Often schools complied with community demands, at least on a superficial basis. The demand for self-determination is beautifully, although extremely, stated in *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* (Appendix A). Local political pressure was applied to educational institutions to promote a number of educational reforms. They varied from traditional civil rights demands for equal employment opportunity, equal resource allocation, and equal treatment to advocacy of such civil liberties as freedom of student political action and dress and behavior code modifications. The movement as a whole was a vital force for educational change during a few crucial years. Its diversity and flexibility may have been a great strength rather than a weakness.

Ethnic isolation, or school segregation, never became a strong or unified issue within the movement. The merits of ethnic separatism, of separate but better, were closely related to the demand for community control of the school. Although the court's demand for desegregation occasionally ran counter to local wishes, the movement generally cooperated with efforts to desegregate and to implement court orders.

The inherent assumption of Mexican American cultural inferiority within the compensatory and remedial education programs presented major problems. The movement, generally espousing the objectives of such programs but rejecting the assumption of cultural deficiency, focused on the negative aspects of school—the negative attitudes of teachers, the discrimination. The leaders regularly insisted on special training for teachers to overcome racial prejudice, curricular bias, and discriminatory practices and policies. More Mexican American educators were demanded to reverse the low expectations of Anglo teachers as well as to provide role models for children. Although educational representatives from the Chicano movement were some of the very first to decry the derogation of Mexican American culture and the deprivation perspective, they had no well-formulated alternatives. The movement advocated bilingual education on all fronts; most bilingual programs, unfortunately, still incorporate cultural deprivation assumptions.

What happened to the Chicano movement? The same question can be asked about the student and civil rights movements. All are best comprehended as part of the dynamic change syndrome of the period. Elements within the Chicano movement played major roles in demanding educational improvement; they were directly responsible for substantial legal and institutional innovations related to equal educational opportunity and the elimination of flagrant discrimination. Today the movement can no longer be characterized as grass-roots—it is no longer community-based. Radical political action appears to have been replaced by special-interest action. The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the legal arm of the movement, continues to press civil rights and equal educational opportunity cases. State associations of Mexican American educators support bilingual education and other programs. Organizations of legislators, professionals, business people, and women advocate changes appropriate to their own interests. Today's tactics are more familiar to the dominant society. The mood is to work for change within the system, using familiar and acceptable organizational approaches. As one wag put it, "Yesterday's militant is today's president of the local bar association."

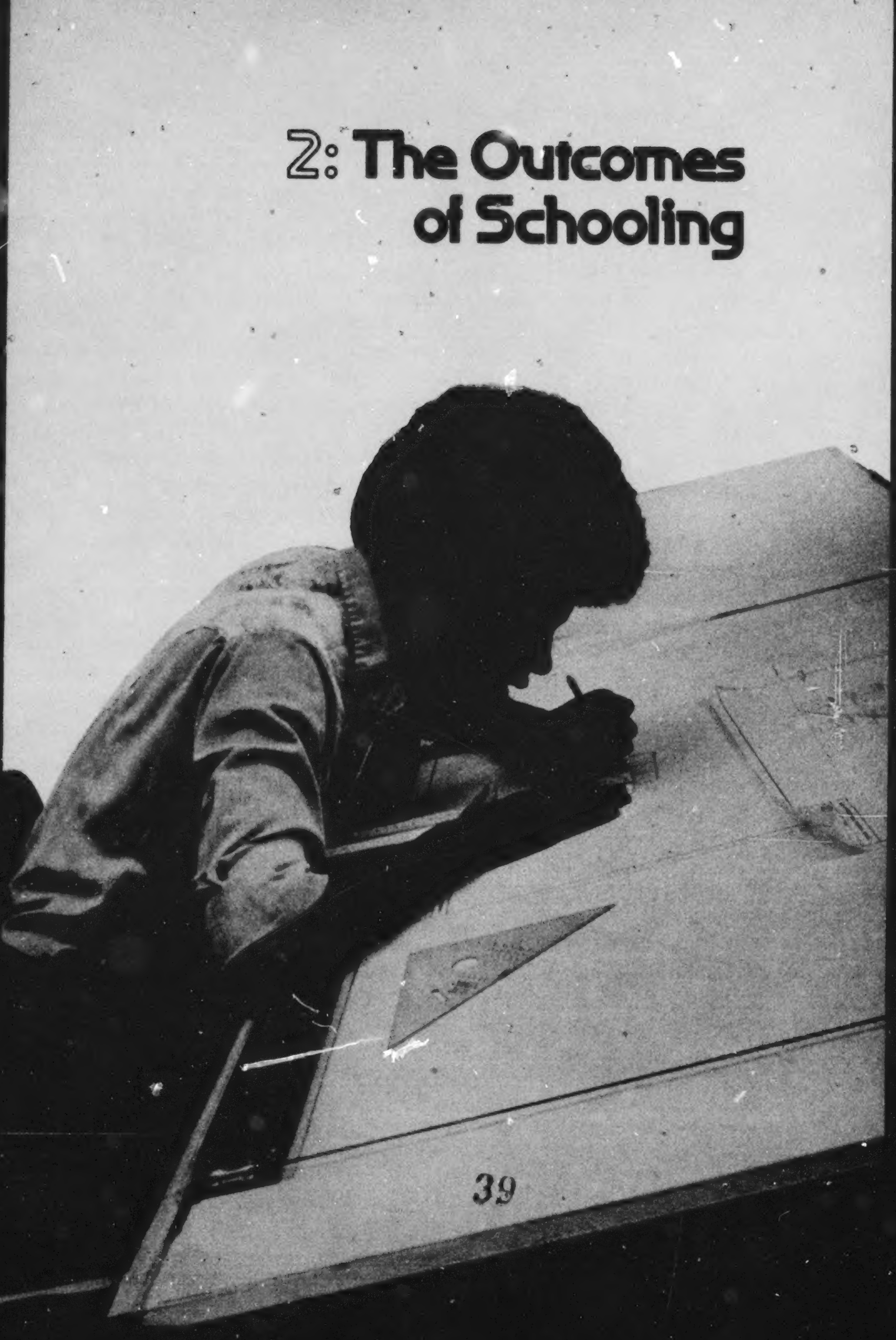
The middle 1970s saw a continued insistence on better and specially prepared teachers and other professional educators, a decreased emphasis on school desegregation, an increased demand for more Chicano educators, and, most important, an ascendancy of bilingual–cross-cultural education. Some bilingual education programs are implemented by schools that see them as little more than a new variation on compensatory education. At the opposite pole relevant programs reflect the local language and culture and are for the benefit of all ethnic groups. Regardless of local interpretation or modification, bilingual–cross-cultural education is increasingly thought to be the solution. Whether it is remains to be seen.

Changes in attitudes of educators are almost impossible to assess. It is our opinion, however, that as a result of the experiences of the last 20 years, educators are progressively moving away from the cultural or psychological deprivation explanation. Fewer attribute Mexican American school failure solely to home or barrio enculturation. More take a cultural relativist stance: Cultural difference is not always seen as cultural deficiency. Regrettably, there is no widely accepted cultural sufficiency explanation to substitute.

SUMMARY

Many Mexican Americans have been in the Southwest for generations; yet considerable time elapsed before it was recognized that persons of Mexican descent were here to stay rather than coming and going across the border as migrants. The mass immigration in the first decades of this century presented the educational apparatus with formidable challenges and ultimately brought consideration of the group to the fore. When the school began to concern itself with Mexican American children, it fit them into a rigidly conceived educational system instead of adjusting the system to the group's needs. This approach, intentional or not, served to make the educational system conform to the pressure of Southwest society for perpetuating the low socioeconomic standing of Mexican Americans. More general interest and massive financial investment in solutions to educational and social problems of the Mexican American characterized the 1960s. The Chicano movement played a key role in supporting the demands for equal educational opportunity and self-determination. Rationales of cultural deprivation gained ascendancy, as did compensatory programs based on the concept. Although the Chicano movement and a few education critics raised questions about the concept and the programs it justified, most special programs continue to be remedial and compensatory. The new rationales of cultural difference and cultural and linguistic pluralism are gaining advocates as well as opponents, but few programs based on the new principles are being implemented. The schools of the middle 1970s look much like those of the preceding decade; the major difference is that the massive federal and, to a lesser degree, state financial contributions are decreasing. The socioeconomic plight of the Mexican American group continues relatively unchanged; Mexican American school achievement and attainment remain in the same position relative to other groups. Some of the older discriminatory patterns, policies, and practices of the schools have been modified, but few have been eliminated or radically changed.

2: The Outcomes of Schooling



As a people, our faith in education almost equals our faith in the American political and economic system. The concepts of free enterprise, free public education, and democracy are intertwined and almost inseparable in the minds of most. We regularly criticize the functioning of all three, but continue to see them as the cornerstones of our system. Our faith in free public education led us to expect schools to accomplish too much: from Americanizing immigrants to preparing atomic physicists; from eliminating poverty to teaching moral and spiritual values. We may have asked the impossible; our faith may be waning in education's ability to do society's bidding.

The last decade has brought increasing recognition that some children do not have equal access to schooling, nor are equal facilities provided to them. Most important, certain ethnic and social groups are slighted—for example, Mexican Americans. They participate less and do less well academically than any other group in the Southwest except Native Americans. The outcomes of schooling clearly indicate that the school has not equalized opportunity for the Chicano. Although there has been a gradual improvement over the years, the relative position of ethnic groups in the Southwest is unchanged. While the attainment gap is narrowing, academic achievement remains about the same. Chicano children may be staying in school longer (their attainment is greater), but they don't appear to be learning more (their achievement remains constant). This condition persists in spite of the school's effort to improve the situation. Because the school may have done all it can, significant improvement may have to await radical changes in the socioeconomic system.

This chapter examines the social functions of the American school and presents evidence of the quality and quantity of Mexican American participation in Southwestern schools. The disparity between the implicit and explicit objectives of the American school and the outcomes for the Mexican American is obvious. The school has not equalized opportunity for this ethnic group.

ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

All social institutions perform educational functions in the sense that they socialize—that is, they teach people to operate within the framework of socially set values, norms, and expectations. In differing and ever-changing ways the family, the church, the neighborhood, the peer society, and the school share the obligation to socialize each new generation. The school aids society in the socialization and enculturation processes and in the allocation of human resources and thereby of status—the "sorting-and-sieving" process. Socialization brings the child into membership in society by teaching certain behaviors, expectations, roles, and personality characteristics. Enculturation, the corollary, teaches the values, knowledge, and skills of the parent culture. The two processes are so intertwined and interrelated as to be best considered a single function and synonymous. Allocation of status is another, related institutional function. The school identifies children with different characteristics or potentials and treats them differentially so that they are prepared to enter a certain level of society with the appropriate orientations, behavior sets, and abilities. The question is whether the school provides children with an opportunity to improve their status or whether it merely perpetuates the status inherited from the parents. For culturally different or foreign children the American school is seen to play a third role as the chief agent of acculturation.

Culture and its carrier language are the basic ingredients of education in any society. In simple societies culture is passed from generation to generation informally. In more complex societies formal institutions (schools) augment the informal cultural transmission. The patterned behavior and belief system, or culture, appropriate to a given society is relearned with each succeeding cohort of young. Formal structuring of cultural items is not required in the schoolless society. More complex societies convert culture into school curriculum. Thus, curriculum may be defined as culture that is distilled, arranged, and presented to the young by the school.

The three ingredients of the formal curriculum were explained by Phenix (1958, p. 57): "A complete description of the curriculum has at least three components: (1) what is studied—the content or subject matter of instruction—(2) how the study and teaching are done—the method of instruction—and (3) when the various subjects are presented—the order of instruction." Each school, subject area, or course curriculum is derived from analysis of specific elements or categories of the school's parent culture. *Content* comprises the knowledge, skills, values, and mores of that culture. For example, a language arts curriculum of the same three elements is likewise drawn from observation and analysis of the language of the parent culture (see Lado 1957). *Method* is the how-to-teach segment, determined by the common modes of behavior in the teacher-learner (usually parent-child) transaction. For example, if a social group commonly teaches its children to learn by passive observation or, in contrast, by active participation, these respective modes become the methods of the two groups' school curriculums. *Sequence* is determined by observing the period in life when children acquire certain information or skills. For example, the American school would not begin driver education in the fourth grade; rather, that subject would enter the curriculum at the time when young people usually begin to drive. Curriculum is the school's version of the culture children will learn and reproduce; culture is the *only* source of the school curriculum. In relatively homogeneous and static cultures the school curriculum supplements and augments the ongoing socialization provided by the family, significant individuals, or other institutions. When the school deals with culturally diverse groups (cross-cultural schooling), the curriculum can be drawn either from the culture of the dominant society or from that of the learner's subsociety. Occasionally both cultures contribute to the curriculum, as in bicultural schools (see Forbes 1967). Unfortunately, the curriculum is rarely based on a subsociety's culture.

The preceding paragraph described the *formal curriculum* found in workbooks, texts, study guides, programmed instruction, and educational films. Teachers and other school personnel casually present the *informal curriculum*, which is reflected in the school's social atmosphere, dress codes, behavioral standards, student organizations, reward systems, and treatment of and expectations for children. The informal curriculum contributes to the sociocultural "feeling tone" of the school. Usually these two curriculums are congruent. In most American schools the informal curriculum is based on the standard American or middle-class culture of the staff. Occasionally there are other arrangements: Formal curriculum based on middle-class culture might be presented by an aristocratic foreigner or a Mexican American teacher from a highly traditional background. Inversely, a Chicano studies program could be presented by a member of the John Birch Society. Thus, the formal and informal aspects would be noncomplementary, antagonistic, and noncongruent. In all three examples the effect on the learner would not be that anticipated by the formal curriculum constructors; in the last case the result might well be open animosity and perhaps violence. Both the formal and informal curriculums exert profound influence on students in multitudinous but ill-defined ways. Little negative reaction is anticipated, however, if the culture of the learner group is similar to that presented in the formal and informal curriculums.

Through the curriculums, the major tools of the school, children are expected to acquire society's culture. The formal content reflects national, idealized culture; local social and cultural systems exert much more influence on the informal content. The two may conflict, just as local mores and national values may differ. For example, school ethnic or racial isolation itself is a significant learning experience for a child. Through segregation, the incongruities between national ideals and local practices become as evident in the school as in the community. In the Southwest both Anglo and Mexican American children are expected to internalize the national American culture—including such values as equality—at the same time they are learning the unequal roles expected of them by local society. Superficially American schools strongly resemble each other: The formal instructional programs, methods, teachers, buildings, organization, methods of finance, and control are so similar that they might be administered by a centralized national agency. Closer examination reveals profound differences. The regional social climate, reflected in educators' perceptions, beliefs, and expectations, is manifest in school organizational patterns, practices, and policies and in the expectations for, and treatment of, children. Many informal curricular devices generate a positive or negative social climate that encourages or discourages achievement and attainment. Tracking, segregation, overreliance on formalized predictors of school success (for example, IQ tests), no-Spanish rules, differentials in teacher behavior toward ethnic groups, and suspension policies are components of the informal curriculum. Such conditions can combine with racial bias, ethnocentrism, racism, stereotyping, or omission of ethnic groups within the formal curriculum to produce a negative social climate – at best discouraging and at worst destructive.

The local social system is the major influence in the sorting-and-sieving process. Although schooling is idealized as the way to rise in the social system, maintenance of the local socioeconomic system requires that children be prepared to occupy the available slots. Reflecting its parent society, the school consciously and unconsciously sorts children into categories to fill the recurring status vacancies. Once classified, the children are treated in different ways. The interrelationship of the American school and its society is well recognized. Occupational status is readily understandable and most important, as Clark points out (1965, p. 739): "Whenever formally differentiated agencies of education [schools] exist, their general social function of training the young for adult roles entails also some part of the assignment of [social] status to individuals and groups. This part grows as education connects more closely to the economy. Education's mediation between the demand and supply of workers entails an expanding mediation in the assignment of social position and status. . . ."

Despite the generally accepted belief that the school allocates status in a manner to encourage movement up the social ladder, the truth appears to be the opposite. The social classes are usually recycled by the school: Social status allocated at school exit is highly influenced by the social class inherited from parents. Motivation to achievement is related to the local social system. "The major inducement of educational achievement in our society is the promise of future occupational reward. If, however, it is known in advance that these rewards will be largely withheld from certain socioeconomic and racial groups, then it is unlikely that high levels of educational achievement can be sustained in such groups. Thus, academic performance may be devalued because the young of such groups see no relationship between it and the realities of their future" (Cloward and Jones 1962, p. 2).

Many low-status Mexican Americans do not foresee any acknowledgment from the community if they graduate from school. Social rewards promised to the Anglo or middle-class children are not available to the Chicano, particularly in the more socially closed, usually rural, areas of the Southwest. It may, however, be equally true in urban areas. Both settings can and do generate a subordinate ethnic or racial caste, bound into generational poverty by the limited opportunity provided by the social system. The hope of improved social or economic status as a reward for school perseverance (motivation) is nonexistent or very limited for many Chicanos. Certain social roles are closed. The social reality clearly demonstrates that in their community, "Mexicans" don't become teachers, prosperous business people, or medical doctors nor do they occupy other high socioeconomic positions. Thus, the realistic expectation of improved social status as the future reward is denied a given element of the population. The poor Chicano argues realistically, "Why put up with school if the consequence for me is the same low social status of my parents, siblings, and friends?" The anticipation that motivates middle-class youngsters is lacking.

The school allows and seems to encourage exit of young people who are prepared to occupy the available economic and social positions. When the economic bases of a social system change, or when children move to another system, say from rural to urban, there are problems. Newly opened occupational slots have few persons prepared to fill them. Similarly, persons who move find they are unqualified to fill the newly available positions. The school, unable to be current in its sorting and sieving, generally prepares children best for local conditions. For example, the rural school in an agro-industrial environment produces low-skill farm workers. With changes in technology, these low-skill individuals will be unemployable. If they migrate to the city, they may be equally unemployable because there is no economic need for their low skills. Unfortunately, in the urban setting the lack of preparation of arrivals from the country deters them from taking advantage of the openings that require higher-level skills. With few openings at higher social levels, cities today may be as closed as some rural areas.

When a local society maintains a restricted number of statuses, the school prepares children for the ranks allocated to the various ethnic groups. If Mexican Americans generally occupy the low-skill peon class, as in parts of the great agricultural valleys of California and Texas, the school will unknowingly encourage children with the requisite skills to leave as soon as the local job markets can absorb them. The high dropout rate for Chicano children in an isolated agricultural community with a castelike social system reflects the traditional distribution of statuses. Conversely, in an urban-industrial, more open social system, the lower dropout rate reflects the greater variety of statuses open to the minority group. Where state law demands school attendance to a given age above that required for entrance into locally available occupations, schools can be expected to evade the law by failing to enforce attendance.

The functional interdependence of the school and the society it serves is real and should be seen in its proper focus. In slowly changing social and economic conditions this interdependence serves well; it is functional. At the present time the school is dysfunctional; it is producing failures, human resources perhaps suited to societal needs a generation ago but no longer appropriate or useful. Greer makes this point (1972, p. 116): "Urban public schools have failed a great many people for a long time now. They are still 'successful' at failing a great many young people, at screening out the poor and sending them back into the cheap labor market. But today those jobs just aren't there. The school's success at creating failure has become socially dysfunctional—and that's the source of much of the present dissatisfaction with the schools."

For foreign and culturally different groups, the school is expected to fulfill a role allied to socialization—that is, to be the principal agent of acculturation, of Americanization. According to Brogan (1950, pp. 135–136), this function of the school "... is to teach Americanism, meaning not merely political and patriotic dogma, but the habits necessary to American life . . . the common language, common habits, common tolerances, a common political and national faith. The main ... achievement of the high schools and grammar schools is to bring together the young of all classes and all origins, to provide, artificially, the common background that in old, rural society is provided by tradition. . . ."

Despite the growing advocacy of bilingualism and cultural pluralism, most educators (and Americans in general) are still committed to Americanization. In this century United States society has implicitly or explicitly rationalized entrance of foreigners by assuming that at least their children would move into and up in American society—that they would be assimilated or structionally integrated—as they practiced the knowledge, skills, language, and culture so diligently taught them in school. Whether the school was principally responsible for the rapid acculturation and, it was assumed, relatively easy entrance into

American society of earlier and diverse ethnic groups, or whether an epoch of expanding economic and social opportunities was responsible, remains an unanswered but increasingly important question. Greer, with the authors, argues that the school was relatively ineffective in this function. In fact, a strong case can be made that the school supported poverty, foreignness, and poor school performance. Regardless of reality, the majority of practicing educators interviewed do not agree and continue to perceive Americanization and social mobility as important and successful functions of the school.

This rosy picture is described by Greer (pp. 19–20): "So the school was established in the American imagination as the primary means whereby the nation could resolve most of its internal social conflicts, even those generated by diverse foreign immigration. 'Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse on your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!' was the faith which gave the Statue of Liberty life. And, according to the familiar narratives, the school eventually did make loyal Americans, productive workers, and affluent citizens out of all this human garbage. The tattered old-world cultures were transformed, giving fresh vitality to a new world. And the 'immigrant problem' went away —thanks to the public school system." This well-established bit of conventional wisdom does not reflect historical reality. The poor and the foreign very often did not and do not go away. They were cycled through minimum years of schooling in the past, and many still are. Analysis of foreign and poor groups who eventually were integrated into general society indicates that social and economic factors, rather than the school, were the primary cause of group success. The myth of the school's Americanization or acculturation function perseveres, however, unscathed by historical and contemporary truth.

PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL

The degree of structural integration or assimilation of any identifiable group can be measured in several ways. One important indicator is the number of participants in society's institutions. Neither structural integration nor assimilation is a value judgment; rather, the terms reflect or describe a social situation. To speak of an assimilated or

Table 1: Median Years of Schooling Completed by Adults 25 and Older

	1950		*1960*		*1970†*					
	Total Population	*WPSS**	*Total Population*	*WPSS*	*Total Population*		*Black*		*Mexican American*	
					Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Arizona	10.0	6.0	11.2	7.0	12.3	12.2	9.4	9.9	9.3	8.8
Phoenix	10.6	5.3	11.6	6.1	12.3	12.3	9.1	9.8	8.9	8.8
Tucson	11.2	6.5	12.1	8.0	12.4	12.4	11.1	11.0	10.4	9.2
California	11.6	7.8	12.1	8.6	12.4	12.3	11.9	12.0	10.8	10.4
Bakersfield	9.9	6.5	10.8	7.3	12.1	12.1	9.1	9.9	8.4	8.6
Fresno	9.8	5.6	10.4	6.1	12.1	12.1	8.8	9.8	8.2	8.3
Long Beach–Los Angeles	12.0	8.2	12.1	8.9	12.5	12.3	12.1	12.1	11.0	10.4
Sacramento	11.3	7.9	12.2	9.1	12.5	12.4	11.9	12.1	11.1	11.1
San Bernardino–Riverside–Ontario	10.9	6.7	11.8	8.0	12.2	12.2	11.9	11.8	10.1	9.7
San Diego	12.0	8.1	12.1	8.9	12.5	12.4	12.1	12.0	11.8	10.8
San Francisco–Oakland	12.0	8.9	12.1	9.7	12.6	12.4	11.5	11.8	12.1	12.0
San Jose	11.4	8.1	12.2	8.3	12.8	12.5	12.5	12.4	11.1	10.6
Santa Barbara	11.8	7.0	12.2	8.3	12.7	12.6	12.4	12.2	11.2	10.8
Stockton	9.1	7.2	10.0	7.5	11.6	12.0	9.8	10.3	8.6	9.6

Table 1 – Continued

	1950		*1960*		*1970†*					
					Total Population		*Black*		*Mexican American*	
	Total Population	*WPSS**	*Total Population*	*WPSS*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Colorado	10.9	6.5	12.1	8.2	12.4	12.4	12.2	12.2	10.0	9.8
Colorado Springs	11.7	8.4	12.3	10.1	12.6	12.5	12.4	12.2	12.1	11.5
Denver	12.0	8.0	12.2	8.8	12.6	12.5	12.1	12.1	11.1	10.7
Pueblo	9.1	6.3	10.2	8.1	11.9	12.1	10.6	11.8	9.4	9.5
New Mexico	9.3	6.1	11.2	7.4	12.2	12.2	11.1	10.6	9.8	9.6
Albuquerque	11.7	7.7	12.1	8.7	12.6	12.4	12.3	12.1	11.4	10.9
Texas	9.3	3.5	10.4	4.8	11.7	11.6	9.3	10.0	7.6	7.0
Abilene	10.1	–	11.7	4.0	12.1	12.1	9.9	10.4	6.5	6.9
Amarillo	11.3	4.7	12.1	8.1	12.3	12.3	10.1	10.4	8.7	8.8
Austin	10.9	3.5	11.7	4.4	12.5	12.3	10.0	10.3	9.1	8.2
Beaumont–Port Arthur	9.7	7.0	10.8	8.7	11.7	11.5	8.4	9.4	11.2	10.6
Brownsville–Harlingen–San Benito	6.3	2.7	7.9	3.9	8.7	8.4	–	9.8	6.0	5.7
Corpus Christi	9.4	3.2	10.1	4.5	11.7	11.4	9.8	10.3	7.5	6.7
Dallas	11.0	4.4	11.8	6.4	12.2	12.1	10.1	10.6	9.4	9.1
El Paso	9.2	5.2	11.1	6.6	12.2	11.5	12.3	12.1	9.1	8.1

(continued on p. 40)

Table 1 – Continued

	1950		*1960*		*1970†*					
	Total Population	*WPSS**	*Total Population*	*WPSS*	*Total Population*		*Black*		*Mexican American*	
					Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Fort Worth	10.7	5.4	11.4	7.7	12.1	12.0	10.0	10.5	10.1	9.3
Galveston	9.4	4.9	10.3	6.9	11.4	11.6	9.2	10.2	8.7	8.9
Houston	10.4	5.2	11.4	6.4	12.1	12.0	9.7	10.5	8.9	8.7
Laredo	5.4	5.2	6.7	5.4	8.1	7.1	–	–	7.0	6.5
Lubbock	11.0	1.7	11.6	3.1	12.2	12.2	9.4	10.3	5.5	5.5
Midland	12.1	1.8	12.4	3.7	12.7	12.5	10.2	10.4	6.6	6.7
Odessa	10.4	3.9	11.4	4.6	12.1	12.1	9.4	10.4	6.9	7.1
San Angelo	10.2	2.9	10.7	4.0	12.0	11.7	9.5	9.9	6.5	6.3
San Antonio	9.1	4.5	10.0	5.7	11.8	11.2	11.0	10.8	8.4	7.5
Waco	9.4	2.9	10.3	5.5	11.3	11.5	9.6	10.1	7.8	7.4
Wichita Falls	–	–	11.4	6.3	12.2	12.1	10.5	10.5	10.2	9.0
All five states	10.6	5.4	11.6	7.1	–	–	–	–	–	–

* White person of Spanish surname, a category used by the United States Bureau of the Census in 1950 and 1960, is roughly equivalent to Mexican American. In the census of 1970 the bureau used the category of Mexican ethnic origin. The two categories are sufficiently similar to serve our purposes.

† 1970 statistics represent all specified populations in the United States – not just the five Southwestern states.

Source: For 1950 and 1960, Grebler 1967, Tables 1, 6. For 1970, Census of Population, 1970, Vol. 1, Parts 4, 6, 7, 33, 45; Tables 51, 83, 91, 97.

structurally integrated group implies that its members are distributed within institutions similarly to the total population. If an ethnic group participates in society equally with other groups, they are not subordinate. For example, if Mississippi blacks voted in numbers equal to their proportion of the total population of Mississippi, we would conclude that they were equally sharing in the political decision making and that at least in this regard, they had equal power, responsibility, and a proportional share of the political benefits.

Structural integration does not necessarily demand acculturation, although Americans believe the two processes are interdependent and that after the first native-born generation is Americanized, they and their children will integrate into all levels of society. This mode of "acculturate to assimilate" has occurred with certain groups but not with others. The degree of Mexican American participation in formal educational institutions is not appropriate to their percentage in the general Southwestern population.

Attainment and enrollment

The history of low Mexican American participation in the Southwest's schools is clearly demonstrated by extremely low educational attainment or, in census terms, by the low median for years of schooling completed (Table 1). Although it is not shown, only Native American attainment is lower than the almost unbelievable underschooling of Mexican Americans. A related point is that underschooling continues, but the gap between Mexican American, black, and total population has decreased over the 20-year period. Mexican Americans, however, are in the same relative position. The regional differences are difficult to explain either by the availability of schools or by their quality. Texas continues in the lowest position for schooling of all groups; California remains in the highest. Such extreme variations must result from conditions outside the school or from a combination of school and socioeconomic factors, because Mexican Americans themselves are certainly not different enough to account for the variations.

In some metropolitan areas the level of Mexican American schooling is appalling. It must be remembered, however, that the adults living in a given area have not necessarily gone to school there. Migration of the better-educated and more upwardly mobile may partially account for low medians in certain metropolitan areas. Chicanos, like other people, move to areas of greater economic or social advantages. "Those who migrate may have above-average schooling and may be more motivated to seek better opportunities . . ." (Grebler 1967, p. 10). This so-called brain drain has been reported by educators interviewed in the field. Lower median years of schooling are found in areas of limited economic opportunity, of prejudice and discrimination, and of closed social systems. Although it is impossible to document that closed social conditions characterize certain geographic areas, it is reasonable to suggest that they exist more in Texas than in California and more in rural than in urban settings.

Differences between the sexes in years of schooling are not in the direction generally assumed. "Contrary to the conventional notions about the role and upbringing of women in traditional Mexican culture, the average schooling of Spanish-surname females was about the same as for males" (Grebler, p. 10). This applies to younger as well as older groups. Surprisingly, in the rural population, women have higher median levels of schooling. In the 1960 "rural farm" population over 25 years old, women had a median of 5.2 years of schooling and men had 3.6. Table 2 illustrates that this trend has continued. Although the rural farm group can be assumed to be the most traditional, the difference in favor of women is greater than in any other age group or in any other demographic category. These differences, however, may reflect the migration of better-educated men away from rural farm communities.

Participation of Mexican Americans in schools can also be contrasted with that of other groups by analyzing enrollment in given grade levels or in different age cohorts. United States Bureau of the Census data of 1960 indicated to Manuel (1965, p. 55) that ". . . in nearly every age bracket the percentage of Spanish-surname persons [Mexican Americans] enrolled in school is less than the percentage of the total population enrolled in school. The percentages for the two groups are closest in New Mexico, where the Spanish-speaking population is a larger part of the total than in other states. The early dropout from school of Spanish-surname children begins to be evident at the age bracket fourteen to fifteen and is quite marked at the age bracket sixteen to seventeen. At every age bracket from five to nineteen, the lowest enrollment for Spanish-surname children is found in Texas." Concerning the middle sixties, Grebler concluded (1967, p. 21): "En-

Table 2: Rural-Urban Differences in Median Years of Mexican American Schooling, 1970

	Urban		*Rural Nonfarm*		*Rural Farm*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Arizona	9.7	8.9	8.7	8.7	5.7	7.3
California	11.1	10.6	8.4	8.7	8.0	9.2
Colorado	10.4	10.2	8.6	8.6	8.7	9.4
New Mexico	10.8	10.3	8.6	8.7	7.6	8.5
Texas	8.1	7.3	5.2	5.4	5.8	6.2

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Parts 4, 6, 7, 33, 45; Table 5.

rollment of Spanish-surname pupils compared to all pupils is low in the 5- to 6-year bracket. In other words, schooling typically begins later. Enrollment is about balanced in the 7- to 13-year group. . . . The differential between Mexican American and total enrollment widens increasingly with each successive age group." Figures for 1970 demonstrate similar conditions (Table 3). At 16 to 17 years, Chicanos either drop out, or are forced out, of high school in considerably higher numbers than are other students. At 18 to 19 years, the typical college freshman age, enrollment is also substantially lower. The gap is closing, however; the huge underenrollments of the fifties and sixties are no longer evident. Texas—by far the worst in 1960—has made a quantum leap and in most age categories is on a par with, or surpasses, other states. There also appears to be a leveling off among the states—the great differences of the sixties are disappearing.

School holding power

Although statewide enrollment statistics are useful, individual school district figures are more meaningful indicators of school holding power, a descriptive phrase that is supplanting the terms dropout and pushout rates. School holding power focuses the problem of pupil attrition on the institution rather than on the student. The Civil Rights Study stated that ". . . a basic measure of a school system's effectiveness is its ability to hold its students until they have completed the full course of study. In one sense, this is *the* single most important measure, for if a student has left school permanently, all efforts to enrich

Table 3: Percentages of Population Enrolled in Southwestern Schools

	Arizona				*California*			
	*Total**		*MA†*		*Total*		*MA*	
Age	*1960*	*1970*	*1960*	*1970*	*1960*	*1970*	*1960*	*1970*
5–6	57.5	70.5	55.0	64.7	82.8	83.6	79.9	81.8
7–13	96.9	96.7	96.2	96.3	98.2	97.9	97.6	97.1
14–15	92.9	94.3	90.2	91.9	96.3	96.9	92.9	95.4
16–17	79.1	86.5	68.3	79.6	83.3	91.9	73.7	87.3
18–19	45.4	56.7	36.6	48.4	40.8	55.9	33.1	49.6
20–21	21.4	32.0	10.1	21.1	21.5	30.9	12.1	20.4

* In all states the difference between total percentage of school participation and the Mexican American rate would be greater if Anglo participation had been reported rather than the total. The low participation of the Mexican American forces the aggregate, or total, percentage downward. The disparity between Mexican American enrollment and Anglo enrollment could be assumed to be greater than shown between Mexican Americans and the total population.

† Mexican American (reported in 1960 as white persons of Spanish surname, in 1970 as persons of Spanish language or surname).

Source: Manuel 1965, Table 19; 1970 Census of Population, Parts 4, 6, 7, 33, 45; Table 51.

the quality of education are valueless to him" (Report 2, p. 8).[1] School holding power is reported as a percentage of a hypothetical 100 beginning students who remain in school at given grades. A high holding power would imply a large percentage of twelfth graders, say 90 percent; a poor rate would be 50 percent. Holding power is calculated by comparing enrollment at different levels with the assumed baseline of 100.

Figures on Mexican American enrollment by grade level are difficult to procure. In earlier years it was rare indeed for school districts to keep enrollment records by ethnic groups and rarer still to make them available. Some early examples of districts that had high concentrations of Mexican Americans can be cited, however, as well as some early figures for Texas.

A study prepared by the Texas Education Agency in 1957 compared enrollment of Spanish-surname and total-population students by grade level for the 1955–56 school year. The report stated (p. 3): "The ratio of the number of first grade pupils to the number of pupils in

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[1] The United States Commission on Civil Rights six-volume study of Mexican American education is referred to as the Civil Rights Study; the report number and page are given in the citation.

Colorado				*New Mexico*				*Texas*			
Total		*MA*		*Total*		*MA*		*Total*		*MA*	
1960	*1970*	*1960*	*1970*	*1960*	*1970*	*1960*	*1970*	*1960*	*1970*	*1960*	*1970*
69.3	78.0	63.9	77.5	50.9	63.1	49.6	59.7	39.0	54.9	34.5	50.6
98.1	97.9	97.4	97.5	96.8	96.6	96.4	96.2	96.9	96.5	94.5	95.7
95.2	97.3	89.4	95.4	93.4	94.9	93.3	94.2	91.6	94.6	82.7	92.4
83.5	91.2	68.0	82.5	81.5	88.8	76.3	87.2	76.3	86.7	58.6	79.9
48.0	60.3	34.0	49.2	41.6	56.8	41.7	50.6	41.9	56.1	31.1	52.5
26.3	33.5	12.4	16.9	17.6	27.5	14.5	21.1	20.2	28.7	11.9	19.5

grade twelve is about 3-1 for all pupils in the State. . . . For pupils having Spanish surnames the ratio . . . is about 12-1." School holding power in Texas in that period for all students was 33. Only 1 out of 3, or 33 out of 100, beginning school in 1955–56 completed the twelfth grade; holding power for Mexican Americans during the same period was 8 or 9. Of 100 Chicanos starting elementary school, only 8 or 9 completed high school. Although many children moved and finished school elsewhere, the magnitude of the Texas school failure to hold all children, especially Chicanos, was obvious by their own admission.

The Brownsville, Texas, school system reported the dropout rate by comparing the twelfth-grade enrollment with the same class in the fourth grade (Brownsville Consolidated Independent School District 1967). The school population was about 75 percent children of Mexican descent. In 1960 a 65 percent loss was reported between fourth grade and twelfth grade; 1966 had only a 51 percent loss. Thus, the Brownsville school holding power in 1960 was 35, and by 1966 it had improved to 49. In another Lower Rio Grande Valley district, with about 80 percent Chicano students, 53 percent of the fourth graders did not reach the twelfth grade in 1966. In still another valley system with a similarly high ethnic group percentage, only 267 twelfth graders were left in 1966 out of 524 seventh graders. Such differences between the seventh and twelfth grades were very common in Lower Rio Grande schools with large numbers of Mexican Americans. Estimates of Chicano dropout rates in the valley vary greatly: In 1965 one educator predicted that one out of six Mexican American first graders would complete high school; others thought that 30 percent would survive.

Current census statistics on school attainment and enrollment, as well as field interviews, stress that the school holding power in Texas has improved.

A special study in Texas reported enrollment and projected trends to 1978–79 (Table 4). These projections, given in percentages of students graduating by age 21, are equivalent to school holding power. The projections appear to have been remarkably accurate: Current statistics corroborate the estimates.

Table 4: Projections of School Holding Power in Texas

	1966–67	*1970–71*	*1974–75*	*1978–79*
All groups	62	67	71	75
Anglo boys	66	70	74	78
Anglo girls	68	73	78	83
Black boys	52	58	63	68
Black girls	52	57	61	65
Latin* boys	40	45	50	55
Latin girls	40	45	50	55

* Mexican American.

Source: Governor's Committee on Public School Education in Texas 1968, p. 16.

During the 1960s few studies of holding power and dropout rates were available. The Governor's Committee study and field investigation provided more valuable data from Texas than were obtainable from other states. In 1965, from this information and from census data, we conservatively concluded that 60 percent of the children of Mexican descent who began Texas schools did not finish high school. Other states would have averaged somewhat better, California and Colorado perhaps reaching only a 40 percent dropout rate. Arizona and New Mexico, in that order, would probably have followed. Differences among states were great, but there was much variation among schools within states.

Although it can be argued that a high school diploma should not be a requisite for certain jobs, the reality is that many positions are closed to persons who lack this credential. The diploma, or its equivalent, is almost universally necessary for skilled jobs offering potential for growth, promotion, and security. Similarly, postsecondary education and the baccalaureate degree may not be essential, but they are increasingly required for many managerial, technical, and professional positions. The total years of schooling determine school holding power: Kindergarten through college can be perceived as one integrated cycle.

The Civil Rights Study, which provides the most comprehensive and reliable estimate of school holding power available in the mid-seventies, attempted to factor in the multitude of demographic variables influencing the rate: "Estimates were made of school holding power in the elementary and secondary years based on enrollment information provided by the superintendents of the sampled districts. . . . This information consisted of the number of students of each ethnic group enrolled in grades 4, 8, and 12. Using these data as a base, allowances were made for those factors, other than dropouts, which affect the enrollment in these grades. These included allowances to account for those students transferring from private into public schools between grades 4 and 12 and for the differential population growth rates of each ethnic group. The resulting holding power rates from the fourth grade were then used to estimate holding power from the first grade by accounting for the small loss of pupils between grades 1 and 4" (Report 2, p. 9).

To our knowledge, this study was the first to report college entrance as an integral component of total school holding power. "The college going rates for each ethnic group were calculated by combining the 12th grade holding power rates with principals' estimates of the percentage of graduating seniors of each ethnic group who enter college. For the total five Southwestern states, it was possible to calculate an approximation of college holding power using HEW college enrollment statistics for each ethnic group. Comparing enrollments in the first and last years of college, allowances were made for the yearly increase in entering college freshmen and for students leaving college during their senior year" (p. 9). On the basis of this survey and analysis, the Civil Rights Study determined school holding power for each of the five Southwestern states (Table 5).

The Civil Rights Commission summarized their findings: ". . . in all of the Southwest school holding power at all levels is poorer for minority than for majority students. . . . Losses of both Mexican American and black students before graduation are extremely heavy, although Mexican Americans in the Commission's survey area appear to leave school earlier than blacks. Perhaps most disturbing is the

Table 5: School Holding Power by States

	Anglo	*Mexican American*	*Black*
	8th grade		
Arizona	99.2	96.5	94.6
California	100.0	93.8	97.3
Colorado	100.0	99.0	100.0
New Mexico	96.9	93.4	*
Texas	100.0	86.1	98.8
	12th grade		
Arizona	88.9	81.3	71.6
California	85.7	63.8	67.3
Colorado	94.8	67.4	70.9
New Mexico	79.4	71.1	*
Texas	85.1	52.7	64.4
	Enter college (estimated)		
Arizona	53.3	33.0	29.3
California	46.9	28.2	34.0
Colorado	50.6	16.6	†
New Mexico	52.9	22.2	*
Texas	53.0	16.2	26.7

* Rather than report the very small black enrollment, New Mexico indicated that 92.7 percent of Native Americans were enrolled in the 8th grade, 67.6 percent in the 12th grade, and 24.8 percent entered college.

† Number too small for analysis.

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 2.

numerical comparison between those entering first grade and the projected few among Mexican Americans and blacks who complete college" (p. 20). Estimates of 16 years of school holding power based on 1968 statistics are discouraging. Of a hypothetical 100 Anglos, 24 will complete four years of college. Of 100 Mexican Americans, 5 will complete the baccalaureate. Blacks do only slightly better; of 100, 8 will finish four-year college programs (p. 12).

If participation were equal, approximately the same percentage of each ethnic group of high school graduates would go on to college. Thus, if the Chicano and black graduates participated in postsecondary education to the same degree as Anglos, about three times more Mexican Americans and two times more blacks would be in college. Referring to 1968 statistics and estimates, the Civil Rights Study reported that ". . . 37 percent of Mexican American [high school] graduates, 43 percent of black graduates, and 57 percent of Anglo graduates went to college" (p. 21). Such an analysis is misleading. If only twelfth graders are compared, we fail to consider disproportionate numbers of Mexican American dropouts. The interpretation, based on twelfth graders, should be that even among the Chicano school successes, only 37 percent go on to college. The Civil Rights Study found that although minorities were underrepresented in the college-going population, they were overrepresented—and Anglos were underrepresented—in the military services and in technical and vocational schools.

Higher education

The most important institutional indicator of upward mobility and structural integration into the middle and upper levels of society is college participation. The baccalaureate degree continues to open the door to middle-level and professional occupations. If the available information is correct, most Mexican Americans will not be able to enter higher social levels because they will not have the entry-level credential: the B.A. The school does not seem to equalize opportunity or to change inherited social position. Although current data on college participation are unavailable, other information corroborates the Civil Rights Commission's pessimistic projections. Table 6 combines biyearly federal reports to document the grave problem.

Equal participation would be approximated if ethnic group percentages in college were roughly the same as in public school. For example, if Mexican Americans in California were fully participating, 19 percent of all college students would be of that group because 19 percent of all California public school enrollees in 1974 were Chicano (Table 7). Although such school data include disproportionately low percentages of minorities because of poor elementary and secondary school holding power, the information does provide a useful base for comparison with college enrollment. Tables 6 and 7 demonstrate the severe underrepresentation of minority groups. Only about one-third of the Chicanos are enrolled in college as their number in public schools would indicate. The most disturbing aspect is that this rule applies over time. As the Mexican American population percentage

Table 6: Full-Time Undergraduate Enrollment as a Percentage of Total Enrollment, by Ethnicity

	1968	*1970*	*1972*	*1974*
Arizona				
Anglo	89.0	87.6	85.7	86.1
Mexican American	6.9	6.9	7.8	8.2
Black	1.7	2.1	2.8	2.6
California				
Anglo	84.5	82.3	80.8	79.8
Mexican American	5.5	6.2	6.9	7.4
Black	5.6	5.7	6.5	7.2
Colorado				
Anglo	92.4	90.4	88.8	89.4
Mexican American	3.8	5.2	6.4	5.8
Black	1.5	2.3	2.5	3.0
New Mexico				
Anglo	78.0	76.1	75.6	72.0
Mexican American	17.5	19.1	19.3	21.8
Black	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.4
Texas				
Anglo	83.4	83.5	80.6	79.3
Mexican American	7.4	7.6	9.1	10.8
Black	7.5	7.7	9.0	9.0
Total Southwest				
Anglo	84.8	83.4	81.7	80.5
Mexican American	6.3	6.9	7.9	8.6
Black	5.5	5.7	5.7	7.0

Source: *Undergraduate Enrollment by Ethnic Group in Federally Funded Institutions of Higher Education*, Fall 1968 and Fall 1970; *Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data From Institutions of Higher Education*, Fall 1972 and Fall 1974.

increases, the percentage in college remains constant. It was one-third of what it should have been in 1968 as well as in 1974. Despite efforts to improve minority college enrollment, numbers increase but percentages do not.

Table 8 compares states and also breaks down enrollment percentages by college year. With the exception of New Mexico, the percentage of total Mexican American college enrollment is one-third

Table 7: Ethnic and Racial Composition of Southwestern Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

	Percentage of State Total								*Mexican American Percentage of All Hispanic Enrollment in U.S.*	
	Anglo		*Mexican American**		*Black*		*Native American*			
	1972	*1974*	*1972*	*1974*	*1972*	*1974*	*1972*	*1974*	*1972*	*1974*
Arizona	70.9	69.5	19.5	19.6	3.9	5.3	5.3	5.0	3.8	2.6
California	70.8	64.3	16.5	19.0	9.7	12.4	0.5	0.5	30.4	29.3
Colorado	81.4	79.5	13.7	14.1	4.0	5.2	0.4	0.5	3.2	2.7
New Mexico	50.3	48.3	39.4	38.7	2.2	2.5	7.9	10.2	4.6	3.1
Texas	61.1	57.2	22.6	23.9	16.0	18.5	0.1	0.1	24.4	25.5

* Reported as Spanish American in 1972 and Spanish surname in 1974.

Source: Adapted from Tables 2, 3, 4 of *Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary School Enrollment (Students and Staff) by Racial and Ethnic Groups, Fall 1972*, HEW 1973; and letter from Office of Civil Rights, HEW, including 1974 data from correspondence with Office of Civil Rights, based on summary tables of ethnic-racial enrollment survey, 1974 (unpublished).

Table 8: Full-Time Undergraduate Enrollment as a Percentage of Total Enrollment, 1974

	Anglo	*Mexican American*	*Black*
Arizona			
first year	82.8	9.9	3.4
second year	86.6	8.1	2.4
third year	91.1	5.3	1.4
fourth year	90.0	5.7	1.5
Total	86.1	8.2	2.6
California			
first year	77.9	9.[illegible]	8.1
second year	80.0	7.1	7.2
third year	84.0	4.5	5.5
fourth year	83.3	4.7	5.2
Total	79.8	7.4	7.2
Colorado			
first year	86.6	7.4	4.0
second year	90.1	5.3	2.8
third year	91.9	4.2	2.2
fourth year	92.8	4.0	1.4
Total	89.4	5.8	3.0
New Mexico			
first year	68.7	24.2	2.8
second year	72.4	21.8	2.2
third year	74.3	19.9	2.1
fourth year	76.9	18.4	2.0
Total	72.0	21.8	2.4
Texas			
first year	76.4	12.0	10.8
second year	78.5	12.3	8.3
third year	83.7	8.2	7.1
fourth year	84.0	7.8	7.1
Total	79.3	10.8	9.0
Total Southwest	80.5	8.6	7.0

Source: *Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education*, Fall 197 of the state percentage of enrollment in elementary and secondary schools; no significant gain was demonstrated between 1968 and 1974.

Total enrollment figures and percentages are misleading because they fail to indicate holding power directly. A decade ago our first study concluded that Mexican Americans start the freshman year at approximately half their percentage in the local population; however, they suffer from a much higher attrition or dropout rate than do other groups. This conclusion was based on a survey of selected Southwestern institutions (see Appendix B). The pattern persists. If the local Mexican American population is 20 percent of the total, the local college-level institution's freshman class will be about 10 percent Chicano. This holds true also for a total state, with the exception of New Mexico. After the first year the Mexican American percentage declines and the Anglo increases, indicating disproportional college holding power (Table 8). A more direct reading of college holding power can be derived from comparing year-by-year enrollment data provided by the federal government (Table 9).

The chances of a Mexican American's finishing college are much less than for an Anglo and even slightly less than for a black. Of a hypothetical 100 entering Chicano freshmen, only 17 will still be in school in their senior year. Once they are seniors, it is safe to assume graduation will follow. Mexican American men and women have about the same chance, although this varies somewhat by state. The Mexican American college experience is different from that of the black in this regard; black women have substantially lower attrition rates.

College holding power varies significantly by state. California's poor showing for all groups is clearly attributable to the large two-year community college enrollment. Many students take terminal degrees and do not transfer to four-year institutions. Community college freshman enrollment increases the base number and thus lowers the estimated holding power; California's holding power within four-year institutions is probably not unlike that of other states. New Mexico persists as an exception: Holding power is similar for all three ethnic groups.

If the estimated elementary and secondary school holding power (Table 5) is combined with that of college, a particularly discouraging picture is evident. Table 10 projects a hypothetical 100 first graders through college graduation. Our estimate is that in Texas, of 100 be-

Table 9: Estimated College Holding Power* of Full-Time Undergraduates, 1974

	Anglo	*Mexican American*	*Black*
Arizona			
Women	36.0	22.1	22.4
Men	35.3	17.5	11.1
Total	35.6	19.0	14.5
California			
Women	21.6	11.2	16.6
Men	25.3	12.0	12.5
Total	23.7	11.7	14.2
Colorado			
Women	42.3	19.3	19.5
Men	43.4	23.2	12.9
Total	42.9	21.7	15.2
New Mexico			
Women	47.0	31.9	36.2
Men	42.5	31.0	27.0
Total	45.3	31.9	30.1
Texas			
Women	38.8	24.5	26.9
Men	38.3	21.4	19.6
Total	38.6	22.7	22.9
Total Southwest			
Women	28.0	17.0	20.3
Men	30.8	16.5	14.8
Total	29.6	16.5	17.2

* Fourth year enrollment as a percentage of first year.

Source: *Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education*, Fall 1974.

ginning first graders, 4 Chicanos, 6 blacks, and 21 Anglos will finish college. In New Mexico, where college holding power is better, 7 Mexican Americans and 24 Anglos will finish. Although the states vary, the decisive test is the number of students who exit the pipeline. The lower schools, as well as the colleges, are crucial determinants. If holding power is poor in lower schools and good in colleges, the end results can be similar.

Table 10: Estimated School Holding Power, First Grade to College Graduation*

	Anglo	*Mexican American*	*Black*
Arizona	18.9	6.3	4.3
California	11.1	3.3	4.8
Colorado	21.7	3.6	†
New Mexico	24.0	7.1	†
Texas	20.5	3.7	6.1

* Membership in senior class is equivalent to graduation.

† Not reported.

Source: *Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education*, Fall 1974.

A close look at higher education in California reveals some disheartening tendencies. Table 11 depicts the ethnic composition of the three public higher education systems as well as the private institutions. The conclusions are fairly obvious: Mexican Americans and blacks attend community colleges and the state college system more than they attend the university and private institutions. Although blacks and Anglos seem to be proportionately represented in the community colleges, even in these free and open institutions Chicanos are substantially underrepresented. Community and state colleges are popular because costs are minimal and entrance requirements are relatively low. Also, most of these institutions are commuter colleges, and travel and subsistence expenses are substantially lower. It is our contention, although it is not demonstrated by Table 11, that graduate school enrollment is fairly consistent with graduation percentages for all groups. That is, the percentage of Mexican Americans going on to graduate school is about the same as for the Anglo and black populations.

Similar comparative studies of higher education systems in other states are not available. The College Board, however, found similar patterns (1972, p. 9): "Ninety percent of all Mexican American students attending colleges in the Southwest enroll in public institutions, with more than twice as many attending community colleges as state colleges and universities." Although this study consistently overestimated the number of Mexican Americans enrolled, we concur with their conclusion.

Perhaps the most alarming inference drawn from the California in-

Table 11: California Higher Education Enrollments, Fall 1974

	Comparison Base		*Community Colleges*	*CSUCS**		*University of California*		*Private Institutions*	
	State K–12 population 1973	*State 12th grade population 1973*		*Undergrad.*	*Grad.*	*Undergrad.*	*Grad.*	*Undergrad.*	*Grad.*
Anglo	69.5%	75.9%	79.0%	79.5%	84.4%	79.7%	79.2%	78.9%	85.7%
Mexican American	17.2	12.7	8.9	6.8	4.7	5.0	5.5	5.6	3.2
Black	9.7	7.9	8.4	6.3	4.8	4.5	5.0	5.8	4.6

* California State University and Colleges System.

Source: California Postsecondary Education Commission, Table 2, Part 1.

formation is that Chicano enrollment was stabilizing at roughly the 1974 percentages. There apparently was a 2 or 3 percent decline in the proportion of ethnic minorities in the California community colleges when fall 1974 enrollments were compared with those of fall 1973. Similarly, the California State University and Colleges System showed a decline of Mexican American enrollment (Table 12). Despite the state system's pattern of slow growth in enrollment, Mexican Americans were declining both absolutely and proportionally. The nine campuses of the University of California system reported similar phenomena. Table 13 shows both enrolled students and rate of increase. It appears that Mexican American enrollment in higher education is leveling off. Perusal of less complete information from other Southwestern states indicates that the initially heavy Chicano enrollment increase started about 1968, but was not so strong as in California. In other states the plateau will probably be reached later.

Table 12: Ethnic Enrollment in California State University and Colleges System

	1973		*1974*		*1975*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Anglo	128,731	57.7	138,246	61.3	139,955	58.5
Mexican American	11,626	5.2	10,475	4.6	11,505	4.8
Black	11,069	5.1	11,420	5.1	13,584	5.7

Source: CSUS Memorandum of March 1, 1976, Tables 1, 4, 5.

Table 13: Chicano Undergraduate Enrollment in University of California System

	1967–68	*1968–69*	*1969–70*	*1970–71*	*1971–72*	*1972–73*	*1973–74*
Number	441	1,200	1,837	2,482	2,426	3,067	3,309
Rate of increase	–	172.1%	53.1%	35.1%	0%	26.4%	7.9%

Source: Charts A and C of "Report of the President's Task Force on Chicanos and the University of California," April 1975.

Mexican Americans continue to be radically underrepresented in Southwestern schools. Although attainment has improved over the last decade, it is still low and the relative position is unchanged. School holding power has been enhanced, but the system does not graduate the appropriate number from college. There is evidence that the college-level enrollment has reached or is reaching its peak. If so, the only way to increase the number of college students will be to increase the number of Mexican Americans who persevere and graduate from high school, and to ensure that they have the financial resources to continue.

Cocurricular activities

Another indicator of Mexican American structural integration is the quantity and quality of participation in the nonacademic aspects of school. Whether or not a given group shares in such institutional activities is a good predictor of future involvement in adult society. Mexican Americans do not take part in extra- or cocurricular activities to the same degree as the majority ethnic group. This statement is not a value judgment; it does not contend that low participation in, for example, athletics is either good or bad. It is only another social indicator. Lack of participation in cocurricular activities is explained by the all-too-familiar arguments – one stating categorically that the group is at fault because of culturally determined factors, the opposition contending that the school is to blame.

Although it is difficult to demonstrate empirically, the assumed benefits of extracurricular participation are universally accepted by educators and laymen alike: Nonacademic school activities (1) are of almost equal importance with the academic, (2) provide an arena where peer learning takes place, (3) offer an opportunity to expand personal and intellectual horizons, (4) present special occasions for individual and group expression, and (5) afford excellent training in leadership and citizenship. "In short, participation in such activities serves both as an important contributor to a child's development as a productive member of society and as an indicator of the school's influence on him" (Civil Rights Study, Report 2, p. 39). If these assumptions are valid, minimal Chicano involvement in outside activities must indicate less-than-average preparation in the areas listed above. A syndrome of low participation correlates with mediocre academic performance, poor attendance, and early withdrawal. (For studies relating to dropouts and low extracurricular participation, see Dillon 1949; Van Dyke and Hoyt 1958; Walsh 1965.)

Table 14: Participation in Extracurricular Activities in Secondary Schools, 1969

	Schools with MA student enrollments less than 50%		*Schools with MA student enrollments greater than 50%*	
	Anglos	*Mexican Americans*	*Anglos*	*Mexican Americans*
Percentage of total student enrollment	72.8	17.4	19.2	74.5
Percentage participating as:				
Student body presidents	79.2	8.6	34.3	65.7
Student body vice presidents	79.0	10.5	35.3	61.8
Class presidents	73.0	14.4	26.8	60.8
Newspaper editors	76.3	15.2	35.5	60.0
Homecoming queens	74.3	18.2	23.1	73.1
Homecoming queen's court	75.9	14.2	29.1	68.0
Cheerleaders	75.7	12.8	44.9	50.2
Average percentage participating in the above seven extracurricular activities	76.2	13.4	32.7	62.8

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 2, Table 4.

Informal reports and interviewee responses consistently reiterate that only a few Mexican Americans participate in cocurricular activities. Their percentages in sports, clubs, and student government are rarely proportional to their numbers within institutions. The first hard data reporting this phenomenon were gathered by the Civil Rights Study (Report 2, pp. 39–41). Table 14 reproduces the commission's findings. When Mexican Americans are the numerical minority, their participation roughly approximates their percentage. When they are the majority, they participate less. When Anglos are the numerical minority, they are almost doubly represented in extracurricular activities. Although these findings are not conclusive—there are too many variables—the commission's report generally supports informal observations of low Chicano participation. The amount of participation determined by the study, however, is higher than expected.

Accounts of the quality of Mexican American involvement are much more difficult to gather and to interpret. Impressions from interviewees and discussions indicate that (1) Chicanos as individuals tend to be either very active or totally uninvolved; (2) Chicanos from the middle class follow Anglo patterns of involvement and interests; (3) Chicanos who are bright and conformist are institutionally selected and sponsored; and (4) participation reflects community style or culture and the place the ethnic group occupies in the social system.

In earlier interviews cocurricular participation in general, as well as particular kinds of Mexican American participation, were seen as culturally determined. One teacher explained that Mexican Americans play baseball more than football because football is foreign to them; another teacher mentioned that forensic activities do not appeal to Chicanos because they are by nature shy and withdrawn. A litany of culturally determined preferences was and is common; however, institutional practices and policies may discourage, if not prohibit, participation. Many schools are eliminating the most flagrant of these. Special requirements to participate—such as fees, costs for uniforms or travel, and minimum academic and citizenship grades—are being challenged and removed (see Sheldon 1961). Educational thought and action are changing slowly, almost imperceptibly, from finding explanation within individuals and their cultural or racial groups to recognizing that institutions are at least partially responsible.

LEARNING IN SCHOOL

How well have public schools performed their societally assigned functions? Have schools been successful in teaching "our way of life" by aiding Mexican Americans to move into the mainstream? No definitive answers can be given, but certain information indicates substantial failure. Schools consciously attempt to teach the dominant culture to all children, especially those who are linguistically and culturally different. The formal curriculum (content, method of instruction, and sequence) is merely culture as defined, distilled, and organized by the school. Several methods are used to test the degree to which a student has internalized the culture; that is, have the language, skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values presented been learned? Success or failure may be evaluated by objective techniques that include the omnipresent standardized tests – aptitude, achievement, IQ, mental maturity. Whether individual or group, they are similar: They measure quantity and quality of culture learned by the individual (or by the group) and compare it with that acquired by average, or "normal," individuals. We believe that IQ and mental maturity tests – the so-called intelligence tests – measure cultural items and in no way indicate individual or group intellectual potential or capacity. Standardized measures of learned culture are useful in that the results indicate the degree of individual enculturation and group acculturation. Other, less formal and more subjective evaluations of the school's success are grades (or other teacher assessments of learning) and behavior or attitudes. Institutional measures of learning are also reflected in grade repetition and the resulting overage students. This section presents evidence of how well Chicanos as a group have internalized the standard American culture taught in Southwestern schools.

Academic achievement

Mexican Americans as a group fail to do well on the traditional standard tests of academic achievement. Nor do they perform as well as Anglos in the more subjective academic evaluations. The grade point average of the Mexican American group is generally lower than that of the Anglo group within the same school or district. Numerous individual exceptions violate such general statements. There is also the possibility that some schools "grade up" Mexican Americans, thus making the group appear more able.

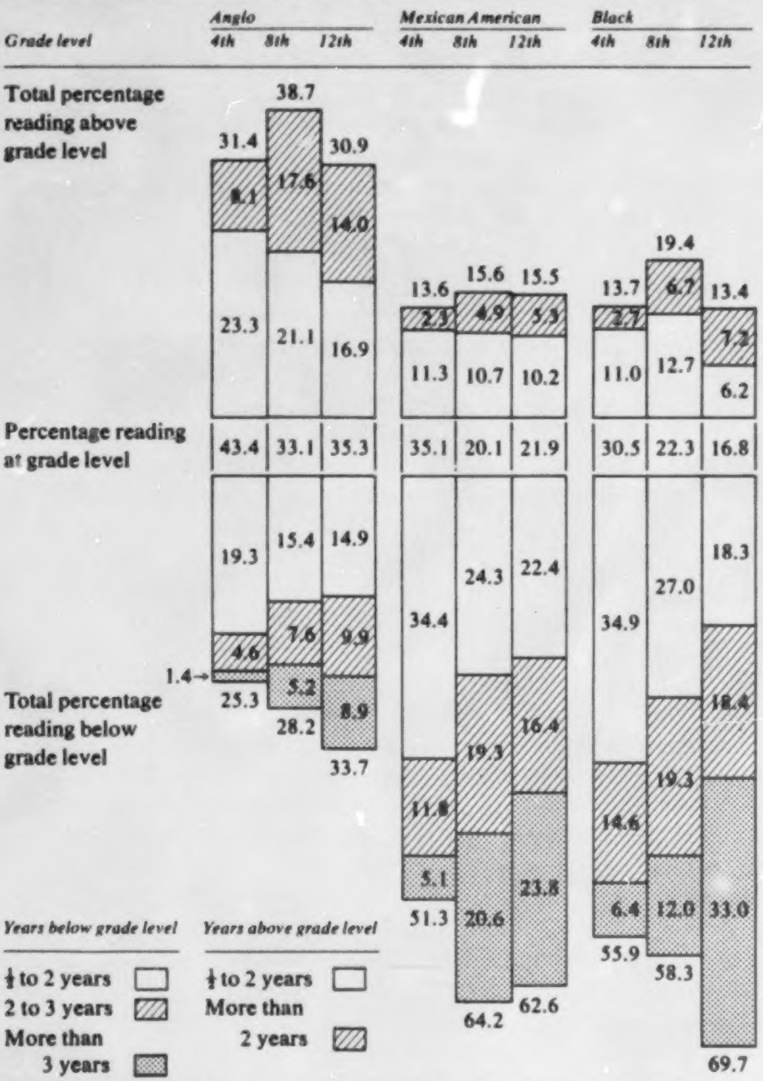
In the all-important area of English language learning – the so-called language arts – Mexican Americans achieve at a substantially lower rate than do their Anglo counterparts. The ability to read is perhaps the most crucial skill learned in school, and in this area Chicano children fail to reach the level of proficiency generally acquired by other groups.

Patterns of Mexican American academic learning are well established and appear to persist. Chicano children start school fairly close to Anglos in all areas of measured achievement. The deficit is least with the young and increases with more years of schooling. Although Chicanos fall slightly more behind Anglos with each additional school year, the two groups remain approximately in the same relative positions through the fourth grade. With the beginning of the intermediate grades the gap widens, and in the fourth or fifth grade many Chicanos become psychological dropouts: They appear to withdraw mentally from the school. The cause is not certain; it may be the result of culture conflict, irrelevant curricular content, or the student's increasing awareness of the futility of school. The withdrawal is characterized by boredom, failure to work, inattentiveness, and discipline problems. Boys seem to retreat mentally before girls do. By the twelfth grade the disparity between Anglo and Mexican American achievement is great.

Charts comparing achievement by ethnic group often do not reflect this continually widening gap. Rather, some picture a narrowing gap in the final years of secondary school. It is doubtful that overall Chicano academic performance actually improves. Because of the disproportionately large percentage of Mexican American dropouts, or pushouts, it is almost impossible to compare group achievement. The Mexican Americans who reach the last years of high school are indeed similar to Anglos; the low achievers have long since fled the school. This achievement convergence in the first and last years of school was reported in a recent study by the New Mexico State Department of Education. They concluded, however, that if large numbers of nonachieving Spanish Americans survive the middle grades, Anglo achievement also drops. Although no explanation was provided, some interviewees felt that Chicanos slowed Anglo learning. Others speculated that Anglos were learning Spanish, or at least becoming somewhat bicultural, and thus were having problems similar to those of their Hispanic peers.

No other area of language arts is more seriously treated by the school than reading. In this cultural skill Chicano children appear to be learning substantially less well than other groups. A comprehensive study of Mexican American reading achievement, conducted by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, reported the responses of school principals (Table 15). The statistics therefore represent the replies of educators in the field. It is our opinion that because of their understandable desire to paint a rosy picture, the real minority reading achievement levels may be even lower than Table 15 indicates. Most

Table 15: Estimated Reading Levels in Southwest, 1969



Source: Adapted from Civil Rights Study, Report 2, Figure 7.

Mexican American and black children are not learning to read very well in Southwestern schools. Discouraging trends are obvious from even a superficial analysis of the commission's findings.

1. Within each group the percentages reading approximately at grade level are most similar in the fourth grade. As in other areas of achievement, younger children are most alike; continued schooling results in greater differences.

2. If the total percentage reading at or above level in the fourth grade is considered, however, the Anglo population is clearly better off. Three-quarters of the Anglo children are reading at or above fourth-grade level, contrasted with about one-half of the minority children.

3. Two-thirds of both minority groups are reading below grade level in the twelfth grade, and only about one-third of the majority group are below level.

4. The percentage of Mexican Americans and blacks with severe reading retardation (two or more years below norm) is very large and increases over the school years. The longer the group stays in school, the larger is their percentage of extremely poor readers; 19 percent of Anglo seniors, 40 percent of Chicano seniors, and 51 percent of black seniors cannot read at the tenth-grade level.

5. Blacks do more poorly than Chicanos, perhaps as a result of increased school holding power for blacks. More black than Mexican American poor readers remain through the twelfth grade and thus appear to have lower achievement.

Our observations and review of current reading achievement data lead us to conclude that the situation is relatively unchanged from that reported by the Civil Rights Study. Although patterns of group reading achievement are similar in all five Southwestern states, there are minor differences. Table 16 presents the Civil Rights Study findings on (1) the percentage of students reading at or above grade level and (2) the percentage of twelfth graders reading two years or more below level. These so-called severely retarded readers have been disabled by the school's failure to provide them with the basic skills necessary for upward social mobility. Because high school graduation is essential for college entrance and for jobs on an upward career ladder, such "cripples" are drastically restricted in their ability to perform the required tasks adequately. More Chicanos and blacks are graduating from high school than were graduating 10 years ago, but about one-third of them cannot read well enough to take full advantage of the opportunity graduation provides. Our general observations are consistent with the state-by-state data in Table 16. The similarity of each state's percentages is remarkable. Although Arizona appears to be falling behind the other states in its efforts to teach reading, and California seems to have a slight edge, the differences are small indeed; all five are doing poorly.

Consistent with other studies, Table 16 shows that in all states but California fewer blacks are reading at or above grade level in the twelfth grade. In all states blacks have the largest percentage of readers two or more years behind. The inverse of this should be true if speaking Spanish were indeed a detriment to learning to read in English. Although the exact percentage of Mexican Americans who are Spanish-dominant is unknown, it is certainly safe to assume that it is significantly larger than among black youths.

Table 16: Reading Achievement by States

	Anglo	*Mexican American*	*Black*
Arizona			
% of 4th graders at or above grade level	75.0	56.5	44.8
% of 8th graders at or above grade level	67.2	34.5	35.4
% of 12th graders at or above grade level	50.9	25.4	23.1
12th graders 2 or more years below grade level	35.8	61.1	62.9
California			
% of 4th graders at or above grade level	73.1	48.0	44.9
% of 8th graders at or above grade level	72.9	42.8	44.9
% of 12th graders at or above grade level	65.9	37.2	41.4
12th graders 2 or more years below grade level	18.4	38.7	39.1
Colorado			
% of 4th graders at or above grade level	74.4	43.3	38.0
% of 8th graders at or above grade level	66.9	44.9	35.1
% of 12th graders at or above grade level	76.9	40.8	35.1
12th graders 2 or more years below grade level	14.5	40.4	45.9

Table 16 – *Continued*

	Anglo	*Mexican American*	*Black*
New Mexico			
% of 4th graders at or above grade level	75.1	51.9	48.3*
% of 8th graders at or above grade level	64.9	41.5	43.4
% of 12th graders at or above grade level	66.0	46.3	25.7
12th graders 2 or more years below grade level	16.3	44.0	52.4
Texas			
% of 4th graders at or above grade level	79.0	48.3	41.0
% of 8th graders at or above grade level	72.5	26.6	36.1
% of 12th graders at or above grade level	69.1	35.3	28.4
12th graders 2 or more years below grade level	16.3	44.0	52.4
Southwest Total			
% of 4th graders at or above grade level	74.8	48.7	44.2
% of 8th graders at or above grade level	71.8	35.7	41.7
% of 12th graders at or above grade level	66.2	37.4	30.2
12th graders 2 or more years below grade level	18.8	40.2	51.4

* Because of the small number of blacks, New Mexico reports on Native Americans.
Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 2.

Mexican American achievement in mathematics is also poor, but is generally reported to be better than in reading and the other language arts. The general patterns of Chicano, black, and Anglo achievement described earlier are also encountered in arithmetic: The groups are closest in the early grades; minorities fall progressively more behind in the intermediate elementary grades; there is a converging in the last years of high school. When total mathematics achievement is broken down into problem solving (involving language skills) and fundamentals, differences are apparent. Chicanos as a group do relatively well in the fundamentals but are far below norms in areas that depend on language ability.

Until recently no large-scale analysis of Mexican American aca-

Table 17: Achievement among Western School Students, 1975*

	9-year-olds	*13-year-olds*	*17-year-olds*
	Social Studies		
White	+ 1.9%	+ 1.0%	− 1.9%
Hispanic†	−10.4	− 9.5	−12.4
Black	−14.4	−11.5	−15.2
	Science		
White	+ 4.0	− 2.9	− 1.6
Hispanic	− 8.8	−11.7	−10.9
Black	−13.0	−16.5	−11.0
	Mathematics		
White	+ 2.4	+ 1.8	+ 3.5
Hispanic	− 8.4	−12.6	−14.3
Black	−13.2	−18.5	−19.9
	Career and Occupational Development		
White	+ 2.9	+ 3.0	− 1.0
Hispanic	−14.3	−12.5	− 6.8
Black	−13.0	−20.2	−17.7
	Reading		
White	+ 1.4	+ 2.1	+ 1.5
Hispanic	−10.2	−11.0	−11.1
Black	−12.3	−18.7	−20.0

* In percentage points difference from achievement of all students within an age category.

† Equivalent to Mexican American.

Source: *Hispanic Student Achievement in Five Learning Areas: 1971–75*, Tables 5, 6, 7, F-1, F-2, F-3, G-1, G-2, G-3.

demic achievement was available. In May 1977 the Education Commission of the States released its first study of Hispanic student achievement (Table 17). The report – although it suffers from methodological problems common to any such sampling endeavor – provides a valuable current appraisal of learning in five academic areas and within three age groups. Unfortunately, the study included more than our five Southwestern states; however, this should not change the results appreciably. Although the sample included *hispanos* other than Mexican Americans, the majority were Mexican American. Hispanic students did consistently better than blacks but were substantially inferior to "whites" in all subjects at all ages. Although these findings are not shown in Table 17, the study reported: (1) Female Hispanic students achieved less well than males in social studies at ages 9 and 13 and in mathematics at ages 9 and 17; girls did better than boys at all ages in reading. (2) Consistent with the other ethnic groups, Hispanic students who reported that at least one parent had graduated from high school did substantially better than those who reported that neither parent had graduated. School attainment of parents consistently relates to school achievement. This study provides no surprises – it supports other data. Although some reports show black and Mexican American achievement to be closer, others find that blacks surpass Chicanos.

In Table 17 science and social studies follow a predictable pattern. Career and occupational development, a category not reported in any other available study, samples skills associated with self-evaluation, career planning, and employment seeking. Additionally, it investigates attitudes toward work and work habits. Even in this practical category, Hispanic students fair poorly. By any measure of school learning, Mexican Americans and blacks do less well than students from the dominant society. They are not acquiring the culture taught by the school.

Another indicator of low academic achievement is student retention. Children who are forced to repeat a grade will be overage. The universal reason for not promoting students is their failure to perform at an acceptable academic level: The learners did not acquire the appropriate portion of the culture presented in the curriculum. Most, but not all, retentions occur in the first grade and affect Chicano youngsters more than either Anglos or blacks. The practice is more prevalent in some Southwestern states than in others. The Civil Rights Study reported both retention and the resulting overage students (Table 18 and Table 19).

In a recent study Jackson surveyed the accumulated research on the effects of retention and concluded (1975, p. 627): "Those educators who retain pupils in a grade do so without valid research evidence to indicate that such treatment will provide greater benefits to students with academic or adjustment difficulties than will promotion to the next grade." As in so many areas, research does not support the school's

Table 18: Percentage of Students Repeating First and Fourth Grades, 1969

	Arizona	*California*	*Colorado*	*New Mexico*	*Texas*	*Total*
First-grade repetition						
Anglo	5.7	5.6	3.9	8.5	7.3	6.0
Mexican American	14.4	9.8	9.7	14.9	22.3	15.9
Black	9.1	5.7	7.7	19.0	20.9	8.9
Fourth-grade repetition						
Anglo	0.8	1.6	0.7	0.9	2.1	1.6
Mexican American	2.7	2.2	1.7	4.2	4.5	3.4
Black	0.7	1.0	1.3	1.0	5.1	1.8

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 2.

Table 19: Percentage of Pupils Two or More Years Overage

	Grade	*Arizona*	*California*	*Colorado*	*New Mexico*	*Texas*	*Total*
Anglo	1	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.8
	4	1.2	0.7	0.5	2.7	1.3	1.0
	8	1.1	0.8	0.6	2.3	2.1	1.2
	12	1.4	0.1	2.5	1.7	4.9	1.4
Mexican American	1	2.5	1.7	2.1	1.7	6.6	3.9
	4	5.6	2.1	2.3	5.5	12.0	6.9
	8	11.8	2.3	1.5	10.8	16.5	9.4
	12	10.9	2.3	3.9	6.8	10.5	5.5
Black	1	1.5	0.7	0.9	—	3.2	1.2
	4	1.3	0.7	0.7	2.0	6.1	1.8
	8	3.0	0.3	—	1.8	6.7	2.1
	12	5.5	1.9	5.4	9.1	4.6	4.4

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 2.

actions. Social promotions may be more beneficial. Although it is not a conclusive argument, a comparison of Texas and California grade-retention practices is useful. In Texas, with the highest proportion of grade repetition for Chicanos in the first and fourth grades, 74 percent of Mexican American eighth graders read below grade level. In California, where fewer Mexican Americans repeat a grade, 57 percent of Chicano eighth graders read below grade level (Report 2, pp. 29, 33). Note that Chicano children throughout the Southwest are often two or more years overage for their grade level. In particular, Texas has the largest group of overage students as well as very low reading achievement (Table 16). California, on the other hand, with the smallest overage group, has high reading achievement among Chicanos. This strongly suggests that retention, overage students, low achievement, and poor school holding power are causally interrelated. Several studies support the conclusion that students who have been retained ultimately achieve at a lower rate (see Saunder 1941). Table 5, which reports school holding power, indicates that Texas and California are again at opposite poles. The chance of graduating from high school is greatest in California, where the common practice is social promotion and thus few overage students. The inverse is true in Texas. Chicanos have a better chance of both learning to read and graduating in California than they do in Texas.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

All indications are that the Southwestern school continues to have difficulty in teaching the American way of life to Mexican Americans. Measures of the internalization of American culture – in the form of standardized tests of aptitude, intelligence, and achievement – show that Mexican Americans, blacks, and the poor in general are not learning the skills, knowledge, and values so diligently taught by the school. To educators this may suggest a group's low motivation, short attention span, cultural deprivation, low innate intelligence. To us it means that these groups are not absorbing certain aspects of the middle-class culture and are probably absorbing many aspects unmeasured by gross tests. The evidence indicates, however, that Mexican Americans (and blacks and the poor) are not learning what the school teaches to the same degree as are the "average" Southwesterners.

On the other hand, all ethnic groups are staying in school longer; school holding power has improved over the last decades. But the relative position of Anglos, blacks, and Chicanos remains unchanged, even though the distance between the groups has narrowed. Chicanos still follow blacks, who in turn trail Anglos. One disappointing trend is that Chicanos continue to be severely underrepresented in higher education: Their enrollment is about one-third of what their percentage of the population would indicate it should be. Significant increases in Mexican American college enrollment were seen during the last half of the 1960s. Unfortunately, there is a strong suggestion that this has leveled off in the 1970s. In addition, the Mexican American dropout rate in college is much higher than that of Anglos. Even when Chicanos are successful in entering a four-year institution, their chances of graduating are very small.

Poor college holding power is undoubtedly the result of many circumstances. If the achievement data on twelfth graders represent reality, one element is obvious: Only a small percentage of Mexican Americans appear to have the requisite basic skills to persevere in higher education. Even though more Chicanos are graduating from high school, the school continues to fail to teach them the skills demanded by colleges and universities. It is extremely doubtful that higher education will substantially modify its academic demands; therefore, Chicanos unable to meet college expectations will drop out.

If measured academic achievement is an indicator of the school's success, we can only conclude that the school continues to fail in its self-espoused goal of teaching American culture. Looked at from another perspective, the school fails to equip the majority of Mexican Americans with the skills necessary to obtain middle-level social positions. More graduate from high school than in the past, but the number graduating from college is very small.

3: The Failure of the Chicano

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Today most Southwestern educators recognize that Mexican Americans as a group do not achieve well in either school or society. The facts outlined in the preceding chapter are generally known. Pressed to explain this admittedly deplorable situation, many educators take a cultural determinist position. This perspective attributes social and educational failure to the cultural makeup of the group itself. These educators maintain that Chicano culture does not include those values, orientations, and motivations necessary to mesh with the dominant sociocultural matrix. Mexican American culture is perceived as inadequate, inappropriate, and deficient. Cultural difference, a nonvalue judgment, is transmuted into the value-laden concept of deficiency. It is argued that the home and community environment lack the values, skills, personality characteristics, or experiences necessary for a child's academic success. Much of the relevant literature reinforces this position. A small but increasingly vocal group of social scientists and educators contend that although some Mexican Americans may well be culturally different, difference does not imply deficiency. The school people who accept this proposition assume a portion of the responsibility, reasoning that given the nature of the home environment, the school is negligent in not providing substitute experiences. This group believes that remedial programs or skill-building activities to supplement the alien home environment enable Chicano children to function better in the middle class.

This chapter explores the cultural determinist perspective, the concept of cultural deprivation, and the cultural traits and conditions attributed to Chicanos. Chapter 6 describes the numerous school programs designed to compensate for the disadvantage of nurture in the so-called deprived family. Chapter 4 examines the contention of a few educators and social scientists that the main causes of low academic and social achievement are to be found within the school and society; they argue from a structural environmentalist perspective. (For further explanation of the cultural determinist and structural environmentalist positions, see Carter 1970b; Brischetto and Arciñiega 1973.)

For the purposes of this book it seems appropriate to separate discussion of the assumed influences of the home culture from discussion of society and its schools. This artificial division minimizes repetition and, by polarizing the positions, may enhance clarity. In reality the home culture, the personality of the child it produces, the practices and policies of educational institutions, and the nature of society interact. A few educators, recognizing these complex, constantly changing interrelationships, attempt to give attention to all elements in combination. They promote programs to cope with cultural difference as well as to overcome the inadequacies and injustices of the school. Unfortunately, all too many corrective activities have simplistic rationales and attribute the problem solely to the Mexican American home environment and the culture it teaches.

CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

Explicit in the theory that some children are culturally deprived is the belief that certain nurturing cultures or subcultures do not provide the influences necessary to make children successful in school or society. The implication is that the principal role of the school is to act as the first of a chain of influences that cause disadvantaged children to accept middle-class culture; that is, the school's function in society is to reeducate the culturally distinct—both the poor and the foreign. Implicit within this orientation is the assumption that the school is essentially satisfactory as it now exists—that it is a valid representation of American culture.

The concept of deficient socialization finds many well-intentioned subscribers. The cultural deprivation position provided the theoretical underpinnings for educational action during the war on poverty, as discussed in Chapter 1. The acceptance of the cultural determinist and cultural deprivation arguments and of compensatory-remedial programs as the appropriate action was almost universal in the sixties. Most authors of literature on the education of the poor and most school people interviewed in the course of these studies would agree with the following definitions. The disadvantaged or deprived ". . . is 'anyone who cannot participate in the dominant culture.' Another definition is 'one who is handicapped in the task of growing up to live a competent and satisfying life in American society.' A definition from the viewpoint of the teacher is 'the child who has difficulty achieving in school because of his background' " (Johnson 1966, p. 9). In other words, the disadvantaged child – the child of poverty – is one whose home background and experiential base are substantially different from those of the middle-class child. The strong implication is that these differences are the prime cause of the poor's lack of success in school and society.

To determine the causative differences or deficiencies of disadvantaged children, educators use what amounts to a mathematical formula. Many studies of lower-class, poverty, or Chicano homes and children have provided a generalized description of life-styles and personality characteristics. (For surveys of the research see Bloom, Davis, and Hess 1965; Gordon and Wilkerson 1966.) This generalized description can then be "subtracted" from an equally generalized (but better-documented) description of middle-class culture, socialization practices, and personality characteristics. The differences between the two pictures are the deficiencies of the disadvantaged child: the home and neighborhood shortcomings that the school must change, remedy, or eradicate. These manipulations provide the basis for school action to remake disadvantaged children into successful middle-class children.

The popularity of this approach is well remembered. Although there are fewer pure deprivationist statements in the seventies, most educators still concur with the list of reasons for school failure provided by Riessman (1963, pp. 4–5). Underprivileged children fail in school because they ". . . lack an 'educational tradition' in the home, few books, etc. Insufficient language and reading skills . . . Inadequate motivation to pursue a long-range educational career and poor estimate of self. Antagonism toward the school, the teacher. Poor health, improper diet, frequent moving, and noisy, TV-ridden homes." These are the differences noted after the educational subtraction described above has taken place. The middle-class, or privileged, environment is the reciprocal of the underprivileged environment.

Socialization within the Chicano home and neighborhood is usually perceived as deficient, even pathological. Heller exemplifies this rationale (1966, pp. 34–35): "The kind of socialization the Mexican-American children receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities needed for advancement in a dynamic industrialized society. This type of upbringing creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility – family ties, honor, masculinity, and living in the present – and by neglecting the values that are conducive to it—achievement, independence, and deferred gratification." Chicano culture is considered dysfunctional. Social and school-related conditions, outside the nurturing and self-perpetuating culture, are usually not considered or are viewed as of minor consequence. To Vaca (Fall 1970, p. 19) this cultural determinist position clearly postulates that it is ". . . the cultural baggage of the Mexican American that was the main cause of the social ills . . . as part and parcel of the Mexican American's psychological 'self' — something from within him, assiduously inculcated in him by Mexico's traditional folk culture and perpetuated by Mexican Americans in their ethnic enclaves. . . ."

Many social scientists (most inadvertently) provided the empirical base for this pathology perspective. The view that minority groups perpetuate and sustain inherently deficient or at least dysfunctional characteristics has gained ascendancy over other social science explanations for several reasons. One reason is that such a rationale coheres beautifully to the American brand of ethnocentrism: Minority problems are caused by *their* peculiar foreign culture. Few Americans have been exposed to other ways of thinking. When this view is coupled with the almost universal acculturate-to-assimilate orientation (minorities will be accepted only when they become "good like us"), the basis for the cultural deprivation–compensatory education model becomes clear. This view is further strengthened by the almost unquestioned but omnipresent belief that the public school was the principal agent of acculturation of earlier immigrant groups.

The cultural deprivation perspective permeates the thinking of educators who support the established position that the school's role is remodeling, retooling, and reorienting Chicano children into copies of the middle class. Even creative programs that use Spanish and Mexican culture and involve the community are almost invariably perceived as steps to compensate for and overcome group-perpetuated cultural deficiencies and as efforts to adjust children to school and thus to hasten Americanization. The cultural deprivation position and its school action arm, compensatory education, remain the only fully conceptualized model. Little change has occurred in the last 10 years. No new "theories" have been accepted and few new programs initiated. It seems almost impossible for educators to overcome the influence of the cultural deprivation theory on their own thinking. Even programs based on differing rationales are often forced into the deficiency models. Most educators continue to believe that—

1. The failure of Mexican Americans in school is due to their different or deficient home socialization;

2. The school's role is to overcome this failure through compensatory and remedial programs;

3. The school's main function is to Americanize the foreign; and

4. The school's curriculum—its values, truths, and norms—validly represents the culture required to succeed in American society.

There is little information presented to most educators, or to Americans in general, that would lead them to question these assumptions. The argument that a child's failure in school and society is due to deplorable home conditions and that cultural difference equals deficiency is not shared by all who use the conclusion as a base for action. Many educators vehemently deny any derogatory implications and assert that Mexican American culture is equal to, but different from, that of the middle class. These educators do not believe the Mexican American home environment lacks significant experiences. But they contend that although the cultural traits may be desirable and appropriate within the subgroup, they are inadequate and inappropriate for success in school and within the dominant society. This group, however, generally subscribes to the familiar compensatory-remedial approach.

CHICANO CULTURE

To determine the causes of Chicano failure in school and society, an understanding of the nurturing culture and the personality characteristics and orientations it produces is essential. A clear and widely accepted picture has developed. This stereotypical description of Mexican American life-style became near dogma within the education community during the 1960s and persisted well into the 1970s. Only now is it being questioned, but by all too few individuals. The educational practitioners are rarely confronted with information that contradicts their firmly fixed beliefs about the Chicano home and culture.

Few Anglo educators have been intimately exposed to Mexican American society and culture. Although most educators interviewed have dealt with Chicanos for much of their careers, few speak Spanish and fewer still have firsthand, reliable information about the home culture. Ethnic separatism has effectively isolated Chicanos and Anglos from sustained, equal-status social relationships with each other. Only a few members of either group have had the opportunity to interact meaningfully. Anglos rarely have the training, experience, or insight to enable them to interpret Chicano behavior correctly.

Yet, most educators have a very clear idea of what the Mexican American is all about. The origins of this knowledge are found within the dominant group itself: Anglo society has developed stereotypes of Chicanos. Although most school people decry adherence to such stereotypes, a strong case can be made that their beliefs about Chicanos are firmly influenced by these images (see Simmons 1961; Parsons 1965; Montiel 1970). The stereotype provides a set of socially acceptable, preconceived ideas concerning the group personality. Most educators find these expectations confirmed by their observations of Mexican American behavior. The stereotype strongly influences analysis of the group and acts as a selector of observed behavior. Educators tend to remember or see those aspects of behavior that correspond with their belief patterns. The stereotype may also be confirmed and reinforced by their Mexican American acquaintances, who are often members of the group known as Spanish or high-type Mexicans. Many of these upwardly mobile individuals may hold equally stereotypical views of poor Chicanos or new arrivals from Mexico.

Social science has unfortunately provided support; the Mexican American life-style described in numerous studies is regularly presented as gospel in teacher-education textbooks. Illustrations and examples typifying this stereotype regularly find their way into curricular content prepared for children. In the process of refining social science studies into materials for teachers and children, much has been lost and much damage done. Both the reputation of social science and the well-being of children have been harmed. For example, certain anthropological studies validly describe rural and isolated ethnic communities. The misapplication, overgeneralization, and reiteration of the cultural descriptions, however, are almost completely accepted by school people. What may once have been valid descriptions of Mexican or Spanish American culture are universally accepted as descriptive of contemporary Chicanos. Present-day Chicano culture varies greatly with geographic area, is strongly influenced by the social and economic environment created by the dominant society, and is modified also by historical experience. Urbanization has resulted in much culture change. Yet, the folk-culture stereotype persists: This older model serves as reality to most educators. The omnipresent myth is rarely challenged. The difficulty in tampering with the stereotype may be that its ready acceptance reflects a need or demand for a simplistic, but sufficient, explanation. Adherence to the stereotypical explanation protects the teacher and the school from self-analysis.

Many studies of Mexican American communities, values, life-styles, and customs stress, or are interpreted to stress, cultural differences. Because all Western culture is basically similar, it is easier, more explicit, and more interesting to concern ourselves with the cultural elements that differ. This practice reached the level of wartime "enemy" stereotyping during the 1960s. In our zeal to find the causes within the enemy we ignored the massive similarities and overstressed and oversimplified the differences. In addition to this failing, many of the life-style studies are dated or describe rural conditions. Unfortunately, such information was and is regularly assumed to portray accurately Chicano culture in general.

Another common assumption is that Mexican American personality and culture are similar to those of other minorities. The numerous studies of black, Puerto Rican, and poverty subcultures contribute to educators' perceptions of Mexican Americans. Educators combine local stereotypes, social science descriptions of culture, value comparisons, and information on other minorities to produce a precise picture. It is evident that the Mexican American culture depicted is part myth and part fact, part stereotype and part reality. In a sense, the separation of myth and reality is unimportant for our purposes; what is crucial is to understand that the authors of most of the literature in the field and the majority of educators continue to hold that the Mexican American culture is monolithic and static. Regardless of the validity of this belief, the significant concern is that most teachers and administrators describe the Mexican American home, culture, and child in the same specific, usually stereotyped manner.

Folk culture

The ethnic child is usually pictured as the product of a static and homogeneous rural folk culture. The parallels between this description and Redfield's "folk society" (1941) are very strong.

As in all human groups, the Mexican American family establishes basic patterns of behavior and personality. A patriarchal folk family is almost invariably described. Teacher-education textbooks, following their established pattern of oversimplification and generalization, further distill the image. With a few notable exceptions, authors from the 1920s to the present depict most Mexican American families as "under the firm authority of the father, while the mother assumes the traditional subservient and severely proscribed role of homemaker, model of purity, bearer and trainer of children" (Hayden 1966, p. 20). An education textbook, especially geared to inservice teacher training, continues the theme: "Most Mexican American families are a tight patria[illegible]l structure. The father has all the authority, although the mothe[illegible] the center of the family. When the father dies, the eldest [illegible] inherits the father's authority over the immediate family" ([illegible] 1966, p. 5). Despite the many changes and the growing social and political awareness of Chicanos, adherence to this view of the family remains the rule rather than the exception among educators interviewed.

In contrast to the average Anglo family, which includes only immediate relatives, the Mexican American family is characterized as "extended," including ". . . not only members of the immediate family – parents and their children – but also grandparents, aunts, uncles, and *compadres*" (Johnson, p. 5). Formal kin reside in the home or are closely tied to the immediate family. Ritual kinship relationships (*compadrazgo*) are seen to be regularly established between one family and others; *compadre* ("godparent") relationships unite individuals and families.

Children in this folkish family are usually described as learning their social roles early. Most educators see boys as being strongly influenced by the *macho* ("male") role of the father and other male relatives. "The Mexican-American family structure very clearly provides the outlines for the roles of female and male members. Thus, Mexican-American children rarely have any doubts about their (sex) roles. A boy is nurtured on the idea that he is developing into a man, and this means he is *macho* and must behave *a lo macho* (to be male) or *ser muy hombre* (very much a man). In other words, boys are encouraged from birth to develop those qualities that are clearly masculine. This accounts for the *bravado* in so many young Mexican-

American males, the need to defend honor, the urge to establish a masculine image before girls, etc. Mexican Americans have a word for this: *machismo*" (Johnson, p. 5). The same author continues in a 1970 revision: "The clear understanding of identity and male role may also explain why some women teachers have trouble disciplining Mexican-American boys. It may be one reason why so many Mexican-American boys drop out of school early; a boy is *macho* if he is working, earning money, and standing on his own two feet" (Johnson 1970, p. 71).

To many educators *machismo* ("maleism") is a plausible explanation for widely diverse male adolescent behavior. Skipping school, liking girls, disliking school, being impudent, and getting bad grades were attributed by some informants to maleism. The term *machismo* is regularly used by most Spanish-speaking peoples. Its interpretation is difficult; many contend it implies Don Juanism and masculine assertiveness. The late George I. Sánchez, professor at the University of Texas, concurred that it may have such overtones, but contended it is best understood by the American word *guts*. *El es muy macho* would usually mean "He's got guts." The exact meaning appears to vary greatly by area and by the person questioned. It is probably valid to say that *machismo*, as variously defined, is characteristic of certain Mexican American populations. Montiel notes in his review of the literature on the Mexican American family (1970, p. 56) that the ". . . uncritical use of concepts like *machismo* has relegated all explanations of Mexican family life to a pathological perspective." Unfortunately, most educators continue to ascribe this characteristic to Chicano boys.

According to much of the literature and to most interviewees, the social role of the Chicana is patterned after the submissive mother. "Mexican-American girls learn their role early in life also. Essentially the role of the Mexican-American female is to perform all the duties that maintain the family: take care of the children, cook, clean, and perform all the other countless duties to keep the family going. In performing these duties, the female is always subservient to the male head of the family" (Johnson 1966, p. 5). Girls are perceived as being taught to be submissive and responsible. As with *machismo*, it is extremely doubtful that such roles characterize all, or even most, contemporary Mexican American homes. But teachers seem to think that they do. It is interesting to conjecture that such female roles adhere rather closely to the picture of the ideal American woman held by many conservative or traditional teachers. The increasing disappearance of sex role distinctions within the dominant society may contribute to a changed perception of the Mexican American girl's socialization. The submissive and traditional woman's role may become a positive rather than a negative attribute among conservative educators.

The folk family myth with clearly defined sex roles remains constant despite many social changes in the last 10 years. The folk family does not correspond to the contemporary reality; its superficial treatment and oversimplification in teacher-preparation textbooks and elsewhere support the belief that it is nothing more than a popular stereotype that deters in-depth understanding of the Chicano family.

Values and orientations

World views and value orientations of Mexican Americans are seen by educators as similar to traditional folk culture. As with their impression of family authority structure and roles, their ideas about Mexican American cultural values and orientations are strongly influenced by operating stereotypes. The lack of hard evidence tends to support these stereotypes.

Social scientists and educators who have investigated orientations usually concur with Zintz (1963, pp. 200–202) that children of Mexican American sociocultural background have the following tendencies: (1) They devalue formal education, especially for girls. (2) They see success more in terms of interpersonal relationships than in terms of material acquisition. (3) They consider "time as a gift of life to be enjoyed to the fullest—and to be enjoyed to the fullest it must not be postponed." The Anglo concept of wasting time is not understood. (4) They are fatalistic, feeling they have little control over their natural or social environment: *lo que será será*—"what will be, will be." Man's fate is seen to be in the hands of God, luck, or some other unseen force. (5) They see change as unappealing and not motivating: "We may follow the old ways with confidence." (6) They are submissive to the status quo, patient, conformist, and perhaps apathetic. (7) They think of work only to satisfy their present needs. The Protestant work ethic is not accepted. The "work a little, rest a little" concept contributes to a low level of aspiration. "Be satisfied to follow in father's footsteps." (8) They attach little importance to time schedules and the

Anglo concept of punctuality. "The expression for 'the clock runs' translated from Spanish is 'the clock walks.' It has been said that this explains the *mañana* attitude." [Actually, the Spanish word *andar* means "run" in the mechanical sense, as well as "walk" in the normal sense.] (9) They attach much importance to nonscientific explanation of natural phenomena such as sickness.

Table 20: Classification of Major Differences between Mexican American and Anglo Value Systems

Mexican American Values	*Anglo-American Values*
Children from traditional Spanish-speaking families may be said to have accepted these general patterns:	American school teachers are sure to place great value on these practices:
Subjugation to Nature	Mastery over Nature
Present time orientation	Future time orientation
Status based on ascription	Status based on achievement
Particularistic perspective	Universalistic perspective
Emotional	Affectively neutral
Low level of aspiration	High level of aspiration
Work for present needs	Work for future success
Sharing	Saving
Nonadherence to time schedules	Adherence to time schedules
Reaction to change	Acceptance of change
Nonscientific explanation for natural phenomena	Scientific explanation for all behavior
Humility	Competition
Obedience to the will of God	Individuality and self-realization

Source: Brischetto and Arciñiega, p. 36; adapted from Zintz 1963, pp. 241–243.

Zintz elaborated and slightly modified this 1963 picture of folk values in his 1969 revision. Table 20 juxtaposes the culturally produced patterns of traditional Spanish-speaking families with the ideal values assumed to be characteristic of Anglos. The sources from which such lists of attributes are drawn may objectively have described a given local situation at a given time. (For additional analysis of folk culture see Burma 1954; Campa 1962; Clark 1959; Heller 1966; Madsen 1964; Sister Mary Immaculate 1959; McDonagh 1949; Sister

Francesca McGarry 1957; Sánchez 1940; Valdez 1961, 1962; Kluckhon and Stordbeck 1961; Rubel 1966.) Despite objectivity and validity, such studies have been generalized and simplified far beyond the intent of social scientists who conducted the research. Unfortunately, most educators integrate the so-called scientific information into their established stereotype and see the folk culture values as characteristic of Chicanos in general, not solely of the traditional Spanish-speaking families on which most studies are based.

The folk orientations described above are understood to oppose the equally stereotypical and static orientations of the dominant cultural group and its teachers. In Table 20 Chicano children are considered disadvantaged because they are socialized to the exact reciprocal of the attributes expected by school and, by implication, society. Stereotypes, not reality, are compared. The American stereotype is "good"–the Anglo ideal self; the Mexican American orientation is "bad." Both sides of the table are false–at best they represent the values of a few persons. They are ideal, not real. Educators tend to accept both sides uncritically, which probably does little harm to Anglos but may seriously damage the life chances of Mexican Americans.

The solution is obvious: School programs to overcome, or compensate for, dysfunctional socialization must be implemented. Ulibarri suggests that Spanish American children need a new orientation (cited by Zintz 1969, p. 244):

"1. Acquisition of the Anglo value of achievement and success.

"2. Time orientation that will be precise according to the hour and minute, but also placing great emphasis on planning for a definite future in this 'temporal life.'

"3. Scientific interpretation of natural phenomena.

"4. Acceptance of change and a zeal in looking forward to change.

"5. Social relationships, whereby their 'docility' and 'timidity' will evolve into a desirable degree of aggression.

"6. Economic efficiency, whereby they will learn the value of money and acquire the ability to spend it wisely.

"7. A more universalistic outlook on life so that they will see the total picture instead of ascribing importance to the separate details.

"8. Acceptance of scientific medical practice."

Most educators subscribe to the value orientations described and would also concur with Ulibarri's remedies. Compensatory programs to overcome deprivation and to encourage acculturation to middle-class norms are the logical outgrowth of such beliefs.

Two Mexican American value orientations are deemed particularly disadvantageous and dysfunctional. One is the assumed Chicano orientation toward time, especially in regard to punctuality. Children must conform to the school's well-run-ship policies; the mañana attitude must be modified if the child is to fit in with the demands of school and society. The other value orientation that concerns teachers is fatalism. Chicanos are thought to place too much emphasis on unseen forces instead of stressing their individual ability to control the environment as well as their own fate.

There is some empirical evidence that bears on these life orientations. Ninth graders were observed in a semirural and castelike agricultural area of California (unpublished study, Carter 1965). Two-thirds of the 288 high school freshmen studied were Mexican Americans; approximately 90 percent of these children were from low-social-class homes, and the majority of their fathers were non-migrant agricultural workers. The Anglos were normally distributed in regard to social class and to fathers' occupations. The students reacted to written statements. Items that elicited information on attitudes toward fatalism involved planning for the future; 55 percent of the Mexican Americans, as contrasted with 22 percent of the Anglos, agreed that "planning ahead makes a person unhappy, since plans hardly ever work out." Approximately 19 percent of each group were undecided; 4 percent did not respond. Given the statement, "The best thing to do is live for today and let tomorrow take care of itself," 41 percent of the Mexican Americans and 25 percent of the Anglos agreed; 16 percent of the Mexican Americans and 11 percent of the Anglos were undecided; the remainder did not respond. Answers to these two items supported the belief that minority-group youngsters are primarily concerned with the present and do not consider planning ahead useful, apparently because of intervening and uncontrollable forces. Whether such orientations are attributable to Mexicanness or to lower-class culture is unknown. When the school staff was interviewed, 18 of 20 teachers contended that fatalistic attitudes characterized the majority of their Mexican American students, but in no case did such a large percentage of Mexican Americans studied respond in ways indicative of fatalism. Teachers think Chicanos are more fatalistic than they really are.

In the Los Angeles School Study the staff asked sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-grade students to react to three statements relating to their expectations for the future (Wenkert 1966, p. 108). These statements were: "People should not expect too much out of life so they won't be disappointed." "Planning only makes a person unhappy, since your plans hardly ever work out anyway." "The wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself." In this study the children were separated into socioeconomic categories on the basis of the father's occupation. At each grade level and within each socioeconomic group Wenkert found that "a higher percentage of Mexican American than Anglo students agreed" with the statements. "In sum, Mexican American students tend to be less optimistic about their future, and about life in general, than Anglo students."

In the research of Coleman et al. (1966, p. 288), three questionnaire items were assumed to measure twelfth-grade students' perceived ability to control their environment. These items tested to what degree an individual "feels that his environment is capricious, or random beyond his ability to alter." The percentages of response, comparing white (Anglo) youth with the Mexican American sample, are reported in the top section of Table 21. The response to all three items indicates that a slightly larger percentage of Chicanos perceive their environments as less controllable than do their Anglo counterparts. As the researchers point out, high percentages of agreement on these items in the Mexican American group may reflect their correct interpretation of reality. Indeed, minority groups and the poor do have less control over their lives than is exercised by the majority. Minority-group status and low socioeconomic status are concomitants in our society. Fatalism, in our opinion, is a cultural adaptation to powerlessness and is attributable more to poverty than to Mexicanness. The responses to Coleman's study, however, do not indicate that Chicanos as a group are fatalistic. If anything, they suggest that a small percentage of both ethnic groups are so inclined. They also demonstrate that Mexican Americans are more undecided. Another finding is that those who make it to the twelfth grade are similar to Anglos. The traditional, or lower-class, minority-group member is all too often a school casualty long before the senior year.

Table 21: Twelfth-Grade Responses to Questions on Control of Environment and Self-Concept (in percentage)

CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENT

	Agree		*Not sure*		*Disagree*		*No response*	
	*A**	*MA†*	A	MA	A	MA	A	MA
Good luck is more important than hard work for success.	4	11	5	12	87	68	4	9
Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me.	13	23	20	22	63	46	4	10
People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.	4	12	11	19	80	59	5	11

SELF-CONCEPT OF ABILITY

	Agree		*Not sure*		*Disagree*		*No response*	
	A	*MA*	*A*	*MA*	*A*	*MA*	*A*	*MA*
I sometimes feel that I just can't learn.	39	38	13	18	44	33	5	11
I would do better in schoolwork if teachers didn't go so fast.	25	28	24	25	47	37	5	11

* Anglo (white) in Southwestern metropolitan areas. In Coleman's study Southwest includes Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona; metropolitan is used by Coleman as defined by U.S. Census.

† Mexican American total Coleman report sample.

Source: Coleman et al. 1966, Tables 3.13.12, 3.13.13, 3.13.14, 3.13.15, 3.13.16.

To test the validity of the hypothesis that Mexican Americans adhere to traditional folk values, Romero devised a value-orientation instrument, which he administered to 348 secondary school students in Colorado and northern New Mexico (1966, pp. 47–50). His sample included approximately equal numbers of Spanish-surname and Anglo youths in both rural and urban areas. Testing the degree of adherence to traditional Spanish and dominant American values – in essence the degree and nature of acculturation – he concluded that the two groups were very similar. No statistically significant difference between Mexican American and Anglo acceptance of the dominant American value system was evident. The similarity of the two ethnic groups in Romero's study opposes educators' arguments. The study additionally points out the possibility of a wide variation in value orientation among Mexican Americans in the Southwest.

Romero also studied teachers' knowledge of sociocultural differences between the two groups. Teachers were indeed cognizant of the stereotype of Mexican American (Spanish American) culture. His "teacher awareness scale" showed that there exists ". . . a general teacher sensitivity to, and awareness of, socio-cultural differences of the two ethnic groups, namely, the Spanish-American and Anglo. This teacher awareness of socio-cultural differences could very well be superficial and not based on real knowledge of what constitutes a culture value system. In addition, 'cultural sensitivity' may reflect perceptions formed from operating stereotypes. Under these conditions a lack of *real* sensitivity could, in fact, exist" (Colorado State Department of Education 1966; see also Ulibarri 1958). Romero's statement was corroborated by our experiences in the field over a 20-year period.

In general, educators have a superficial picture of the value orientations of Mexican Americans. The stereotype was repeated throughout the widely varied Southwest; little recognition of the diversity of the ethnic group was evident. Our purpose is not to question the validity of descriptive statements or empirical studies, but rather to stress that generalizations have instilled in the minds of most educators a picture of a typical Mexican American and a stereotype of a homogeneous folk culture. The product of this culture is usually seen by educators as a "standard Chicano child," almost predetermined to fail in school and ultimately in society. As one California junior high school principal put it, "The very nature of their culture, their present time orientation, their fatalistic attitude, being part of the total Latin culture, almost prohibit their accepting the long-term rewards of the secondary schools."

Literature in the last few years has challenged the folk culture description, and currently stresses that roles, life-styles, and orientations are changing. The social and educational functions of stereotypical attributes are being analyzed and discussed. Although many reports call attention to the invalidity of the myth, few educators read the journals in which they appear and fewer yet are exposed to them through education organizations. The folk culture belief persists.

In attempting to find the causes of minority-group life-styles, the investigator can take both a positive and a negative view. (See Carter 1970b; Brischetto and Arciñiega 1973; Vaca Fall 1970; Romano 1968.) The negative cultural determinist position we have termed "pathological" is the common assumption that minority culture is dysfunctional. The positive cultural determinist perspective agrees that the cultural group is self-generating and self-perpetuating; however, adherents to this position see life-style as positive rather than negative. Those roles, values, and orientations considered negative by others are extolled. According to Brischetto and Arciñiega (1973, p. 5) this position views ". . . minority life as constituting a distinct bio-cultural system which provides a satisfying way of life for its members. In its extreme form this view conceives of the minority poor as 'noble savages' (emphasis on the noble)—as unencumbered by the inhibitions of majority group middle-class life." In this explanation Mexican American cultural and personality characteristics are good, positive, and functional—the very opposite of the pathological cultural deprivation perspective. The positive position was well stated by the anonymous writers of *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán:* "Our cultural values of life, family, and home will serve as powerful weapons to defeat the Gringo dollar-value system and encourage the process of love and brotherhood" (in Johnson and Hernandez, eds., 1970, p. 22; see Appendix A for complete plan).

Others do not stress Mexican American cultural superiority; nevertheless, there appears to be a strong desire to perpetuate and strengthen the same attributes most educators wish to obliterate. Often Chicanos themselves attempt to counter a problem by extolling the virtues of the folk tradition. Brischetto and Arciñiega state (p. 28): "The positive aspects of Chicano life styles have often been made to look particularly attractive when contrasted with the negative aspects of the dominant Anglo culture. Nathan Murillo, for example, describes the sociocultural values of Chicano family members as the result of personality styles which contrast sharply with certain deficient Anglo life styles. Anglos 'live in a future-time orientation' whereas Chicanos 'are not likely to be as locked into the clock' but instead 'experience life more completely as it occurs.'"

Those well-intentioned attempts to counter the prevailing mystique may reflect an understandable desire for cultural revival – a desire to go back to, or to maintain, older traditions. Such cultural revitalization efforts are understandable and recur regularly in the American context. Two circumstances make them particularly appealing. First, the dominant society continues to subordinate the Mexican American, employing the assumed cultural characteristics of the group as a major weapon. Second, as the cultural milieu changes with increasing speed, traditional values and roles have a personal, stabilizing effect. Despite the reasons, the attribution of virtue to folk culture does not make it any more real or characteristic of the contemporary Mexican American. It does, however, support the many educators who use such positive statements to justify their own negative beliefs. Such statements rarely reverse educators' views of folk culture.

The social and educational function of the belief is more important than the belief itself. Educators will have to be convinced to modify their convictions. Part of the resistance to change will be based on the regrettable truth that if the stereotype is eliminated and a more objective view is substituted, the theoretical underpinnings of compensatory programs will be destroyed. Unfortunately, there is little to substitute for them.

Language problem

An important part of the folk wisdom is that Chicanos have a language problem. This belief, a well-integrated component of the syndrome of Mexican American deficiencies, has three aspects: Mexican Americans are alingual, their vernacular is an inferior Spanish, and bilingualism is detrimental to cognition. These premises are less prevalent today than in the recent past. The Chicano movement, asserting ethnic pride and solidarity, has helped to legitimate their language. Current research findings have progressively become more a part of teacher preparation. Both actions appear to have lessened Anglo ethnocentric beliefs about language. Increasing numbers of educators subscribe to the adage that "Chicanos don't have a language problem, the school does."

During the sixties a widely held view was that Chicano children were essentially alingual and did not truly speak any language. Several educators interviewed stated that some children had a problem – not so much because they spoke Spanish, but because they spoke no language at all at home; that is, they were truly nonverbal and alingual. In referring to the Chicano child a California school executive stated, "They have minimal communication in two languages." Because many Chicano children do not talk in school, this condition was deemed proved. In one example, preschool children were reported to have responded with simple yes or no answers to questions addressed to them in either language. (When children were observed at free play, they invariably were noisily verbal in Spanish, English, or some combination of the two.)

Although the origins of the belief in the nonverbal nature of Chicano children are unknown, it probably results from several impressions. Traditional Mexican American families taught their children to be seen and not heard in school. Children who felt they were inadequate in English were embarrassed to use it and punished for using Spanish. This would tend to make any sensitive child nonverbal in school. Perhaps the opinion that bilingualism was mentally confusing also contributed. Teachers may have considered the children alingual because they felt Mexican Americans were ashamed of their inadequate language. It appears now that the myth of alinguality is rapidly disappearing.

Many educators still believe that Chicano Spanish is inferior and associate it with low economic status. Most public school personnel do not understand the vernacular, nor have they made an attempt to do so. Whether it is Southwest Spanish, English, or a combination of the two, it is different from that spoken by "educated" people.

Chicano Spanish is an ever-changing, growing language. It includes older forms, Indian words, coined words, *pachuquismos* (the argot of *pachucos*, or "zoot suiters"), standard Spanish, and English, as well as variations of all of them. The vernacular varies from region to region, from community to community. What is spoken in Las Vegas, New Mexico, is understood in El Monte, California, but it is different. There is one common denominator, however, in all sections: It is viewed as an inferior, substandard dialect.

Many school persons interviewed (including Mexican Americans) commented that the language spoken at home is *pocho, caló*, Tex-Mex, archaic, or wetback Spanish, which are really nonstandard dialects. Statements such as these are commonly encountered: "Their

Spanish is of such an inferior quality that it does not warrant classification as a language." "The child's Spanish provides a meager base for future learning in even that language." But no Anglo speaker of Spanish made this kind of comment. It was often Mexican American teachers who saw the local Spanish as grossly inferior; English monolinguals tended to agree. These patterns indicate that many interviewees are influenced by prevailing stereotypes. Of particular interest is the response of Anglo Spanish speakers; perhaps they have freed themselves from such influences and judge the quality of the local vernacular on a more factual basis than do either Chicanos or monolingual Anglo teachers. Although arguments continue about the nature and quality of Spanish spoken in the Southwest, an inferior status is usually ascribed to the local vernacular.

A partial explanation of this negativism may be that few educators appear to understand the origins of the Spanish spoken locally. Two observations are important: When two language groups come into contact, each borrows words from the other; this process follows a logical pattern. Concerning the first, Diebold says (1964, p. 495): "When there is contact between two separate societies whose members speak different languages, there will result certain linguistic and other cultural changes which must be attributed directly to the fact of contact. This transfer of elements produces systematic change which might be called convergent, since it involves two separate systems. When two or more languages come in contact, speakers of either language may learn elements of the other language. This acquisition of the non-native language produces bilingualism [among individuals]." The contact provides a new language called the vernacular. Haugen, in tracing the systematic process of development of this new language, describes the following sequence (1950, p. 122): ". . . (1) switching, 'the alternative use of two languages,' (2) interference, 'the overlapping of two languages,' and (3) integration, 'the regular use of materials from one language in another, so that there is no longer either switching or overlapping, except in a historical sense.' " This natural process occurs with the formation of any vernacular: It is neither negative nor positive. To paraphrase a famous linguistic scientist, a vernacular becomes a standard language when it gains political clout and acquires an army and a navy.

The negatively perceived local Spanish tends to be rejected by teachers. A Chicano child was heard to say *abajar*, the New Mexican vernacular. The bilingual teacher corrected him, demanding the standard Spanish *bajar* ("to go down"). Other, similar examples we observed included changing the old Spanish form *aldrede* to the more modern *adrede* ("on purpose") and the Indian *sokete* to the Spanish *lodo* ("mud"). In another case the Angloism *arme* was rejected and the standard Spanish *ejército* was demanded. Unfortunately, the English teacher demands "army." Very often the local vernacular is neither understood nor accepted by either the English- or Spanish-speaking teachers.

Social scientists recognize the legitimacy and adequacy of all vernaculars. Chicano Spanish is no different from others. It is logical, conceptually sound, grammatically complex, and meets community needs. In general, however, educators do not understand the Chicano vernacular and make no effort to understand it. Bilingual programs do not reflect it, and teachers continue to think it is inferior.

Another common impression is that bilingualism is both mentally confusing and detrimental to intellectual functioning. Until recently research tended to support this theory. Peal and Lambert reported (1962, p. 1): "A large proportion of the investigators have concluded from their studies that bilingualism has a detrimental effect on intellectual functioning. The bilingual child is described as being hampered in his or her performance on intellectual tests in comparison with monolingual children. A smaller proportion of the investigators found little or no influence of bilingualism on intelligence in that no significant difference between bilinguals and monolinguals on tests of intelligence was apparent."

The difficulty of studying bilingualism was evident. Darcy described these problems (1963, pp. 261–262): ". . . (1) the confusion in defining and identifying bilingual individuals; (2) the difficulty in measuring the various degrees of bilingualism; (3) the variety and adequacy of the tests given; (4) the difficulty of isolating the effect of bilingualism from social, economic, political, and psychological factors; (5) the use of tests with time limits [and their] undue emphasis on speed, thereby confusing the results obtained from such tests; (6) [the different times at which] bilingual subjects learned their second language; (7) the appropriateness of measuring a person's intelligence in the second language, since language proficiency is related to conceptual thinking."

One of the best-controlled early studies of bilingualism was by Peal and Lambert (1962). After widespread testing with careful control of sociocultural factors, they reported (p. 22): "The effects of bilingualism on intellectual functioning are explored in this study. A group of monolingual and a group of bilingual ten-year-old children from six Montreal French schools were administered verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests. . . . Contrary to the previous findings, this study found that bilinguals perform significantly better than monolinguals on both verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests."

Other investigators reached similar conclusions. Cervenka (1968) randomly selected a sample of 97 first graders in Del Rio, Texas. The sample was divided into eight groups: Four experimental groups were taught bilingually by Chicano teachers; four control groups were taught in English by Anglo teachers. All groups were given a series of English competency tests; the experimental groups were also given a series of Spanish competency tests. Cervenka found that bilingual children performed as well as monolinguals in English. Modiano (1973, p. 125) compared cognitive aspects in monolingual Spanish instruction and Tzotzil (an Indian language)-Spanish bilingual instruction in Mexico. She found that the reading comprehension of bilinguals was better. Del Buono (1971) attempted to determine if seventh-grade Chicano students taught bilingually would score higher in their school achievement and self-concept than similar students taught only in English. Controlling for socioeconomic factors and using the Stanford Achievement Test and the General Self-Concept-of-Ability Scale, he concluded that the bilingual students had higher achievement and self-concept. Although most well-constructed research indicates that bilingualism is not detrimental to intellectual function and does not cause mental confusion, many school personnel interviewed subscribe to that idea.

Fortunately, the belief that Chicanos are nonverbal or alingual is rapidly disappearing. Unfortunately, the local Chicano vernacular is still rejected in schools, and the fight for its legitimacy continues. Despite research evidence to the contrary, most educators still adhere to the old belief that bilingualism confuses students and is harmful intellectually.

Intellectual Inferiority

The long-established racist belief that certain populations are innately inferior intellectually still finds adherents. Luckily, fewer such believers are involved in education today. Lower innate intelligence is generally no longer ascribed to Mexican American children. Although IQ scores may be low, most school people explain this phenomenon in terms of the environment, the inadequacy of available psychometric instruments, or both. Nevertheless, the long history of belief in genetically determined low intelligence still has followers. As one California principal stated only 10 years ago: "Given time and library resources, it would be possible to make a strong case that racially these people are inferior." The recent publicity given Jensen's research has probably increased the number of people who admit to believing that Chicanos suffer from genetically caused lower intelligence. The educational community is implicated in an ongoing debate between those who believe IQ tests measure innate intellectual capacity of *all* children and those who contend that such standardized instruments are inappropriate for culturally different groups. This is part of the continuing nature versus nurture argument and will not be resolved in the near future. Our attention should focus on those parts of the controversy that relate to the still-present belief in Mexican American group intellectual inferiority.

Four principal kinds of evidence support low intellectual ability: (1) The results of widespread testing. For a summary of relevant considerations for professionals who use standardized tests with minority children, see Fishman et al. 1964. (2) The disproportionate percentage of Mexican Americans in slow-track and mentally retarded classes. (3) The failure of Mexican Americans to achieve in school. (4) The underlying assumption that low ability results in low social achievement. This point finds its corollary in the ethnocentric belief that Mexico is an underdeveloped nation because of the lack of initiative or intelligence of its people.

Confusion over the nature of IQ is as understandable as it is widespread. Many educators still believe that IQ means innate capacity or potential—a constant, not varying significantly over time. Despite much evidence to the contrary, the immutability of intellectual potential and the ability of IQ tests to measure it remain a viable segment of educational folk wisdom. Much modern thinking on the subject, however, stresses that IQ is a construct that does not measure innate potential. At best, IQ is now seen as an accurate predictor of school success, measuring the kind of learning expected by the institution and demanded for academic achievement.

A reason commonly offered to explain low group IQ and the disproportionate number of Mexican American children placed in slow tracks or in special classes is the inadequacy of psychometric instruments. Wolman, in an early study (1962, pp. 454–455), said that culturally different children have ". . . considerable difficulty in answering test items correctly. Many of the test items include vocabulary or situations unknown to them. This would be particularly true of children who come from homes of very low socioeconomic status, where no English or only little English is spoken, and where the cultural heritage is entirely different from the majority group." The majority of school people would agree. A significant minority maintain that the tests adequately assess innate intellectual potential and that Chicanos are correctly placed in slow classes, an argument that supports the genetic determinist position.

The discussion of IQ, intelligence, race, and class, as well as the inability of present measures to assess intelligence, has consumed much time and energy in the last decade. The argument has reached the courts (see Chapter 4). Jensen and his followers have rekindled the debate. Although most social scientists do not agree with his conclusions, many nonscientists and some educators do. Jensen argues that socioeconomic status differences are probably due to innate potential (1973, p. 97): ". . . low socioeconomic status parents provide a poor environment for their children, even though their children on the average have higher intelligence than the parents; and though high socioeconomic status parents provide a good environment for their children . . . their children, on the average, have lower IQ's than the parents. This would be almost paradoxical from an environmentalist point of view, while it is completely in accord with genetic expectations." Jensen's theory of genetically determined intelligence cites language deficiencies among the culturally disadvantaged as evidence (p. 106): "It has been found that throughout the entire sequence of language development, from the earliest stages of speech in the first two years of life, there is 'retardation' which actually shapes his/her intellectual development of the ability for abstraction and conceptual learning." A position central to Jensen and others is that IQ is a valid measure of intelligence. This idea is not shared by many others.

Recently scholars and civil rights groups have criticized group and individual testing and the test publishing industry. Because of such criticism traditional IQ tests and testing procedures are now being revised. Jane Mercer is one of the principal scholarly critics of test bias and inappropriateness of traditional assessment inventories (see "IQ: The Lethal Label" and *Labeling the Mentally Retarded*). Dr. Mercer is also responsible for the development of an approach to assess intelligence in light of socioeconomic conditions and language.

Edward DeAvila, on the other hand, has evolved an assessment approach based on Piaget's developmental sequences. Dr. DeAvila and his associates designed instruments to assess the "stage of cognitive development" rather than the "amount of culture learned." After large-scale testing, comparing standard measures with newly devised instruments, DeAvila concluded that "(1) on the developmental tests, the Mexican American children did as well, or were growing mentally in the same ways as they or any other children would do at the same age levels; (2) on the developmental tests, the Mexican American children's scores and the Anglo American children's scores were the same; (3) even though (1) and (2) were true, the scores on the standardized tests consistently favored the Anglo American youngsters" (DeAvila and Havassy 1974, p. 75; see also DeAvila's "Intelligence of Mexican American Children").

Today most school people would agree that tests are accurate measuring devices only to the extent that the test matches the student background. Some educators, however, still argue that standardized tests adequately assess intellectual capacity. Whether this is innate or learned continues to be controversial. Tests to "assess intelligence" will be with us for many years to come. Pushed by large and powerful economic interests, they are very much a part of the educational scene, and many teachers unfortunately still rely on them.

Health and nutrition

The belief in personal cleanliness and hygiene, with its multitude of moral corollaries, is deeply ingrained in Anglo middle-class culture. No wonder many educators consider lack of cleanliness a principal failing of Mexican American children. The media have helped to perpetuate this old and well-established stereotype.

Attempts to encourage acceptance of American cleanliness have expended more teacher energy in the Southwest than any other single educational effort, with the exception of language teaching. Descriptions of Mexican American health and sanitary conditions are a significant part of early literature, as exemplified by this quotation: "The personal hygiene of these people is deplorable. Many do not have the facilities for cleanliness of the body, but if they did, the majority would still be dirty. They believe bathing will make them sick" (Carpenter 1935, p. 41). This early writer continued his description: "The lack of personal cleanliness accounts for the many skin diseases for which these people are noted. When girls reach adolescent age, they try to cover up this dirt with paint, rouge, lipstick, and brilliant fingernail polish. The boys at this age clean up a little and take on a chic appearance, but all refuse to take a bath except on Saturday night, and then it is not a very thorough one." The idea that Mexican Americans dislike to bathe continues to be believed by some educators. A common explanation that relates to the crossing of the Rio Grande is recounted by Ramirez, Herald, and Castañeda (undated paper, p. 19): "A counselor approached one of the authors to verify an interpretation she had about Chicanos who attended a local high school. The school was going to require all students to take swimming. She also noted that many Mexican American students refused to shower after gym. The staff of the school wondered about the reluctance to take showers and feared that the 'aversion to water' would extend to the swimming pool. In trying to understand this problem, the counselor had finally hit upon a solution: 'The parents and grandparents of most of these children had to cross the Rio Grande, a very treacherous river. They must have had some terrible experiences. Since this time, fear of water has been transmitted genetically from one generation to another.'" Although foolish and perhaps stupid, such explanations persist. The "dirty Mexican" stereotype is supported in popular advertising and has become a rightful target of Chicano civil rights organizations. Martinez details an example of how the media support and promote the idea (1969, pp. 3–13): In a television commercial, "emerging from a cloud of dust appears a band of hard-riding, ferocious-looking Mexican bandits. They are called to a halt by their sombrero-covered, thick mustachioed, fat-bellied leader, who, upon stopping, reaches with the utmost care for a small object from his saddle bags. He picks up the object, lifts up his arm, smiles slyly . . . to spray deodorant. An American midwestern voice is then heard over the television, 'If it works for him, it will work for you.'" The bugaboo of dirtiness and inherently deficient home conditions prevails in the minds of some teachers and administrators, although it is not the problem it once was.

Cultural differences are clearly recognized as principal elements in health and nutrition. Many school people believe the Mexican American lack of cleanliness and poor hygiene are due to superstitious and nonscientific explanations of natural phenomena assumed to be characteristic of the folk culture. Whether in reality superstitions and folk medicine are upheld by the local Chicano population would have to be determined by objective study in each community. Because most educators are neither equipped for, nor interested in, testing their perceptions against the real world, such local studies are not likely to be undertaken. The beliefs of many school people will probably persevere long after any such Chicano practices disappear.

The failure to eat a good breakfast is deemed another great deficiency. Here, culture is not so much the culprit as is poverty. The assumption, however, is that the Mexican diet is inherently inadequate compared with that of Anglos. "It is also assumed that the general affluence of middle-class whites leads to a healthier diet than that of generally poor Chicanos" (Duran and Bernard 1973, p. 234.) Ethnocentrism clearly extends to the gastrointestinal tract. Recent studies establishing the inadequacies of American eating habits do not tarnish our almost nationalistic beliefs.

An American breakfast is almost as close to being a core value as cleanliness is. Because the Chicano diet is considered inadequate, many school districts have started breakfast programs for these children with the assumption that a good breakfast will ensure achievement. The nutritional deprivation view is reflected by educators who ask, "How can you expect these children to do well in school if they have a tortilla and coffee for breakfast?" Malnutrition exists and is a real factor in school attentiveness, but a serious question must be raised about the effect of a Mexican breakfast on an otherwise adequately nourished child. Some teachers think failure to have a large American breakfast explains classroom inattention and an academic failure. Recent advertisements have reported a positive statistical correlation between a good breakfast and school achievement. It is doubtful that a poor breakfast causes low achievement, as implied. Rather, a multitude of factors related to school and social groups are the causative agents. Although having enough money does not ensure an adequate diet, it certainly helps. We concur with Duran and Bernard (p. 234): "Hot dogs are probably no more nutritional than tacos; what is inadequate is not having enough money to buy enough of them."

Health conditions, disease, and contagion present real problems. All are highly related to group income, regardless of ethnicity. Poor Chicanos present health problems similar to those of poor Anglos or blacks. Yet the stereotype of the poorly nourished, sickly, dirty Mexican American persists. This belief is unfortunately supported by uncritical examination of social and medical facts. For example, some geographic areas with a high Mexican American concentration also have a high incidence of tuberculosis. Both northern New Mexico and the San Antonio area are economically depressed and suffer such diseases of the poor. Poor health goes with poverty – not with Mexican culture.

Apathy and poverty

Ten years ago Mexican American children were often characterized by interviewees as apathetic, noncompetitive, docile, and poorly motivated. Then, as now, Chicanos did not participate in any aspect of school to the same degree as Anglos. For explanation, most educators relied on the stereotypical picture of the home: Docility, apathy, and self-satisfaction with one's role in life were seen to have deep cultural roots. Over the years two things have happened. Mexican Americans are participating more in school, and educators now tend to explain the still-poor participation in more sophisticated terms.

To educators, "apathy" and "poor motivation" carry equivalent meaning. Although educational jargon is difficult to translate, these words suggest that the student (1) doesn't desire to learn, isn't interested in school, doesn't do well in school, doesn't work up to ability; (2) has low educational aspirations; (3) is unable to perceive grades, promotion, or other school rewards as socially or personally significant; and (4) is unable to postpone reward until completion of school. A whole behavior syndrome is subsumed in the phrase poor motivation.

Perhaps it is best to conclude that anyone who doesn't do well in school (for whatever reason) may be said to be poorly motivated.

In the past the folk-culture myth, with its stress on fatalism and orientation toward the present, provided the universal explanation for alleged apathy. Poor motivation was perceived as a normal reflection of the home culture. The belief was widespread that years of servitude and subjugation produced a people who had essentially given up. According to an early author: "The Mexicans, as a group, lack ambition. The peon of Mexico has spent so many generations in a condition of servitude that a lazy acceptance of his lot has become a racial characteristic" (Braeber 1938, p. 97). Few contemporary educators contend a racial genesis; however, some studies reiterate that the Mexican American home culture does not support a desire for change and that personal advancement is seen negatively. Because the ability to delay gratification is not taught at home, Mexican American children learn to live for the moment.

Coleman et al. studied the general motivation of twelfth graders (1966, pp. 279–386). They found little difference between Mexican Americans and Anglos from Southwestern states in their desired scholarship rank, the average time they spent studying outside school, the number of days they did not attend school because they didn't want to, and the number of books they read in the summer before the twelfth grade. Slight differences were reported in future plans and steps to fulfill them. Although the two groups were close, fewer Mexican Americans than Anglos wanted to finish college or to go into the professions, had read a college catalog, or had communicated with a college official concerning admission. This finding is probably meaningless because by the twelfth grade, few Chicanos are in school. Those who remain tend to be similar in many respects to the Anglos who stay. The poorly motivated and apathetic students of both ethnic groups have dropped out or have been pushed out. Some information indicates that low-status parents have high occupational and educational aspirations for their children and therefore encourage them. Many parents, however, do not know the appropriate steps necessary to improve motivation and to encourage perseverance. Other factors that tend to defeat the motivated child are discussed in Chapter 4.

Many contemporary educators are recognizing that lack of Mexican American involvement in school may reflect the inappropriateness of the school activities. They believe that the Chicano, civil rights, and student movements may be helping to overcome political and social apathy characteristic of the past. These school people argue that the school is at fault – the learning or participation style expected is radically different from that preferred by Chicanos. This may well be the result of the new awareness of cultural differences in cognitive methods. Despite more sophisticated explanations and additional research to explain Mexican American poor motivation, little has been done to modify the institutions so that they encourage improved motivation.

Economic conditions continue, correctly, to be held responsible for many Mexican American children's withdrawal, lack of interest, and low achievement in school. The exigencies of living in poverty force the children to seek employment as soon as possible; necessity precludes success in school. Even if children have high social, educational, and occupational aspirations, they are often forced to lower them as they become aware of their economic circumstances. Teachers continue to stress that the traditional Mexican American social roles fit the life-styles of the poor by encouraging boys to go to work early and girls to drop out to aid the family. The family roles are presumed to support poverty and to provide socially acceptable ways of coping with economic necessity. If this is true, it is another example of how the mores of a culture adapt to economic reality.

Although poverty is no longer considered characteristic of most Mexican Americans – probably a reflection of the general socioeconomic improvement of the group over the last decade – Chicanos are still poor relative to other ethnic groups. Poverty continues to take its toll, but the assumption that Mexican American families have low educational and occupational aspirations as a result of indigence is open to serious question. Most interviewees no longer hold to this view, but state instead that the Mexican American families instill high but unrealistic aspirations in their children. It would appear easy to remedy this through an adequate parent educational system. Similarly, if economic necessity forces highly motivated students to leave school, the solution is relatively inexpensive and simple: Pay children to stay in school by providing scholarships and stipends. Neither of these solutions is being seriously undertaken.

Special talent in art and music

All aspects of Chicano culture are not perceived to be negative; some are seen as positive. Culturally determined artistic and musical abilities are thought to be highly developed in Mexican American children. "The musical feeling of the Mexican American is extraordinary and their interest in it is greater than in any other art. Music is the sixth sense of the Mexican race" (Hayden 1934). In 1944 a teacher-training manual stated: "For Latin Americans, singing is a natural means of music expression; their sense of rhythm is acute, making it possible for them to learn quickly music involving complicated or difficult rhythms; their natural feeling for harmony is obvious" (Southwest Texas State Teachers College 1944b, p. 228). About half of those interviewed for the first edition of this book concurred; in this study fewer interviewees said that Mexican Americans are endowed with special musical talents, although many believe the school fails to capitalize on the existing talent. As one teacher put it: "After all, it is one of the few areas where Mexican Americans excel." Artistic ability and manual dexterity are also believed to be special gifts bestowed on Chicano children. According to many teachers, brilliant colors, unusual color combinations, and bold and expressive use of form characterize Chicano artwork. High achievement and creativity in art, photography, and shop classes in secondary school were reported. In many Southwestern schools "typical Mexican" art and music are stressed. This emphasis may indicate that school people think Mexican culture and history are little more than national holidays, happy singing, vibrant art, folk dances, and *picante* food. The accent on music and art could reinforce stereotypical beliefs about Mexicans.

As with other aspects, empirical research does not support the commonly held cultural stereotype. Studies testing artistic and musical ability reported no significant differences between Anglo and Mexican American children (see Garth and Candor 1937; Marcoux 1961; Manual 1930, pp. 21–33). Many educators, however, continue in their beliefs and find support for them in the demonstrated high quality of Mexican American performance. Indeed, our observations confirm that Chicano children excel in art, music, and manual arts. Yet, we do not subscribe to the "special talent" argument—other factors must be operative. But we would not deny that Mexico has long provided an environment that encouraged the visual arts. How can the apparent artistic talent of Chicano children be explained without reliance on the cultural stereotype?

The most common explanation is that Mexican Americans do well in the arts because teachers expect them to and subsequently praise and reward them for their achievement. Teachers' expectations are reinforced by the emphasis given to the arts in the new multicultural curriculums, devised by educators who have apparently decided that music and art are major Mexican cultural themes. These subjects are also accepted by the Americans, who tend to believe that Mexicans are a colorful people.

Other observers claim that art, music, and manual activities are outlets in which excellence is not determined by previous school learning, and that Chicano children have few such outlets in which they can excel. For the most part, both ethnic groups begin art, music, or shop activities with very little previous knowledge. Nor is any previous experience expected by teachers. All students are beginners because these activities depend on a new set of visual, psychomotor, and sound relationships. Anglos and Chicanos learn at the same rate, and a similar proportion of each ethnic group excels. Mexican Americans thus appear to be more talented than in other curricular areas. It is also suggested that because Mexican Americans are not superior in other subjects, a little success in art and music increases their motivation in these two fields. Success breeds more success.

One explanation of special artistic talent is that art, music, and manual skills do not rely heavily on language ability, thus providing those students who have a language deficiency another opportunity for excellence. Most educators attribute Chicano artistic success to culturally determined attributes: "The Mexicans are good with their hands." This time the cultural determinist position does not develop into the cultural deficiency argument. Rather, it is one of Mexican American cultural sufficiency.

RELATED ATTRIBUTES AND BELIEFS

Educators subscribe to many beliefs about Chicanos that are not clearly or solely related to a stereotypical view of the culture. These beliefs are generally associated with facets of the interaction among

Chicano culture and language, school culture and language, and society in general. School failure is attributed to two additional factors: negative self-concept and cognitive style. Both are within the affective domain. Neither is directly related to a stereotypical picture of Mexican American life-style. The danger exists that they will become the new explanation for poor school and social achievement by the Mexican Americans.

The belief that Mexican Americans suffer from a more-than-normal incidence of negative self-concept is widely held. Almost no empirical evidence justifies it. We believe that the idea is perpetuated because it meshes very well with the deprivation theory. A newer idea—that Mexican Americans are bicognitive—is gaining many adherents. Some empirical evidence and logic support this belief. We are concerned that educators, in their eagerness to improve Chicano school performance, will place too much emphasis on this single condition.

Negative self-concept

According to most educators, self-derogation is characteristic of a disproportionately large percentage of Mexican American children, especially adolescents. The last 10 years have seen an increasing reliance on this rationale to explain low academic achievement and attainment. Although ascribing this characteristic to individual Chicanos and to the group is widespread, there is little evidence to indicate the existence of such a self-view. Second, there is no reason to believe that programs to improve self-concept actually reach their objective. Self-concept is a classic, contemporary example of the malaise of our schools. As educators grapple with complex social and psychological situations, they espouse simplistic and poorly understood explanations. Then they implement programs that may or may not address the problem.

Logic and relatively hard data support the theory of self-concept formation and its relationship to school learning. It is generally agreed that self-concept is the mental image one forms of oneself. This self-picture is derived from perceptions of how others view one. Of greatest importance to the formation of self-concept are the opinions of important or relevant persons: the "significant others." For our purposes, the term *self-concept* is equivalent to *self-esteem* and *self-image*.

Positive self-concept and negative self-concept refer to the qualitative view of the self. A negative self-concept implies a great distance between the ideal self and the real self. A positive self-image suggests that the ideal and the real are relatively close and that one is satisfied with oneself. These meanings apply regardless of race or ethnicity.

Self-concept development involves three major interacting components: (1) inherited capabilities, (2) demands of the environment, and (3) opportunity to acquire the necessary skills to adjust inherited capabilities to the physical and social environment. More important than inherited mental capabilities in self-concept formation is the degree of success or failure in coping with the environment. If the environment regularly and continually presents tasks beyond the person's ability to deal with them, a negative view develops. Inversely, if the person's skills permit success, the result is a positive self-concept. Negative self-concept of ability discourages achievement. The feeling of inadequacy in coping with school-demanded tasks limits ability to perform them in the future. A positive relationship between self-concept of ability and academic achievement is postulated. The two are reciprocal and mutually dependent. A positive self-concept is positively correlated with academic success. If children's views of their own abilities tell them they cannot learn what the school presents, they will be unable to learn. ". . . For the expectations of others to be functional in a particular individual's behavior, they must be internalized and become a part of the person's conception of himself. . . . If the child perceives that he is unable to learn mathematics or some other area of behavior, this self-concept of his ability becomes the functionally limiting factor of his school achievement" (Brookover and Gottlieb 1964, p. 469). For example, it can be assumed that failing a subject – if the child values the subject and the judgments of the teacher highly – could cause the child to internalize failure and thus limit future success in that subject.

Many studies strongly suggest that classroom teachers are often children's significant others and that the child's self-concept of ability is positively related to teachers' images, father's image, mother's image, and peer image, in that order of importance.

The explanation above could be descriptive of the *conscious* self-concept, those ". . . aspects of the self-concept of which the person is consciously aware. It consists of those personal attributes which the individual perceives as being important and fairly stable aspects of self. The phenomenological self-concept is the way an individual perceives himself. This includes the person's characteristics, abilities, values, goals, ideals, and his image of himself in relation to others and his environment" (Sharp, Cervantes, and Jones 1976, p. 1). Another, more profound aspect of self-concept is the *unconscious*, the wide range of complicated attitudes and beliefs one has about one's own identity, role in life, and appearance. These very important aspects either may be too unpleasant or may have been acquired at such an early age as to be unconscious (see Fisher and Cleveland 1958, p. 111).

There seems to be agreement that the conscious self-concept can be measured by self-assessment, usually with paper-and-pencil instruments. It is generally assumed that the self-description of the conscious self-concept closely resembles the unconscious self-concept. The distinctions between these two levels may well account for some confusion.

Although the major ideas discussed above are comprehended and accepted by educators, teachers in the field tend to confuse and combine the conscious and unconscious levels. The reciprocal nature of cause and effect is not well understood: Does school failure cause the negative self-concept, or vice versa? Self-concept, especially of ability, is of great and increasing interest. Practitioners are primarily interested because they trust that programs can be implemented to improve self-concept and thus school achievement. They argue that if achievement is improved, children will be encouraged to stay in school.

Most interviewees said that a high percentage of Mexican Americans suffer from an almost debilitating negative self-view, which explains much of their behavior. Interviewees were asked what evidence they had that minority-group members perceive themselves negatively. The answers varied: Chicanos have low educational and occupational aspirations, speak English poorly, are very quiet, don't get along well with teachers, are withdrawn, fear authority, lack ambition, are poor, have few positive role models at home, overrespect authority, and receive poor grades. These answers pinpoint a confusing situation. When they are asked how they know the children have negative self-concepts, the teachers very often respond with the problem behavior itself. For example, if asked how it is known that Maria has a negative self-concept of ability, say in arithmetic, the reply might be, "Maria does poorly in arithmetic." The evidence is the problem; the problem is the evidence. The argument is circular. An analogy might be, "John is sick because he has a fever and he has a fever because he is sick."

According to those interviewed, the home is a major contributor to the child's negative self-perception. Adult Mexican Americans are thought to see themselves negatively: "They are dominated by Anglos at the PTA, they are ashamed of their living conditions (they won't answer the door when a school official makes a home call), they use poor English, and they are poor or lower social class." This assumed evidence of negative self-concepts given by school people may well be misinterpretations of Mexican American behavior. Many social, cultural, and institutional influences could explain the behavior.

Educators assert that a negative self-concept characterizes an excessive percentage of Mexican American children. Their logic proceeds in this manner: "Growing up in a family that has inherited the cycles of poverty, living in an environment that includes failure, being rejected by society, and being confronted with his own inadequacies in the school—in other words, possessing all the 'bad things' of our society—the disadvantaged pupil learns to look upon himself with contempt. Furthermore, his negative attitude of himself is continually reinforced" (Johnson 1966, p. 10; for similar approaches to blacks see Pettigrew 1964; Rose 1948). Chicano poor, like other disadvantaged groups, are seen to internalize the dominant society's perceptions. "Many Mexican-American students are aware of the stigma of second class citizenship. Early in their development, they have realized the role assigned to them by many members of the Anglo-American society, and feeling the discrimination, have reacted with a mechanism behavioral scientists call ethnic self-hatred. This complex or characteristic shows itself in the youngsters assigning to themselves the inferior position given to them by the dominant society" (Hernandez 1967). The outcome of negative self-view is aggressive behavior, according to Hernandez. This position is regularly taken by school people.

The cultural marginality of many Mexican Americans contributes to problems of self-identity and causes more than normal self-derogation. DeLeon (1959, p. 399) said that ". . . the partial disintegration of the parent culture and the fact he has been taught, through social pressure, to be ashamed of, and even to disown his ethnic ancestry, has made the Mexican-American a victim of confusion, frustration, and insecurity." No careful observer would deny the cultural marginality of many Mexican American children (see also Madsen 1964; Ramirez 1967a). Surely school curriculums and practices do affect how children perceive themselves, as well as what they think of education, educators, and school itself. Despite the logic, empirical evidence does not support a generalized Mexican American negative self-evaluation and does not demonstrate that Chicanos internalize what school and society project on them. It is possible that the belief in a Chicano negative self-concept is not based solely on misinterpretation of behavior, but stems from a highly questionable middle-class assumption that all people who are poor see themselves as failures and therefore see themselves negatively. Educators may make a similar assumption: Seeing Chicanos as failures, they assume that Chicanos see themselves as failures. But in his study of a California agricultural community, Parsons (1965) found that Mexican Americans perceive themselves as the positive reciprocal of the negative stereotype projected on them by Anglos.

During interviews for this and the previous study, no educator produced firm evidence that the Mexican American group or individual self-concept was negative. Yet, almost without exception, teachers and other educators employed the negative self-concept to explain inadequate or inappropriate Mexican American school performance. As in so many other aspects of educators' perceptions of Chicano children, factual information is scarce: Whether large numbers of the group's children suffer from self-devaluation or not is yet to be conclusively determined. For our purposes, the existence of the belief is perhaps more important than whether it is true.

As noted above, self-concept implies the internalization by the individual of the expectations and values of significant others. It is crucial to suggest that many Mexican Americans may not think of members of the dominant society as significant others and therefore may disregard the opinions of teachers, principals, policemen, and so forth. They incorporate instead the views of significant others from within their own adult or peer society. A semantic differential questionnaire administered to 190 Mexican American and 98 Anglo high school freshmen asked them to give their opinions of their own intelligence, power, goodness, and happiness. The distribution of responses of the two groups was almost identical: Most Chicano children appeared to be doing a magnificent job of maintaining a positive view of themselves against the onslaught of Anglo beliefs and school judgment (Carter 1968). The teachers interviewed for this study, however, thought the Mexican Americans saw themselves negatively; they were internalizing their own and their school's negative views of the group. (See also Zirkel and Moses 1971.)

The major study by Coleman and his associates (1966) included a report on the self-concept of ability of Mexican American twelfth graders. Two of their questionnaire items pertained to general learning ability (not to a specific academic activity). In the section on Values and Orientations earlier in this chapter, Table 21 showed that responses to questions on self-perceived ability to learn were similar for both ethnic groups. Mexican Americans appeared slightly more self-depreciating, however, as well as more undecided, or they gave no response. In another item twelfth graders were asked to indicate "how bright you think you are in comparison with other students in the same grade." In response to this, 8 percent of the Chicanos and 13 percent of the Anglos said they were "among the brightest," 22 percent of the Chicanos and 38 percent of the Anglos saw themselves as "above average," 53 percent of the Chicanos and 45 percent of the Anglos considered themselves as "average," and 10 percent of the Chicanos and 3 percent of the Anglos believed they were "below average." Although fewer Mexican Americans than Anglos perceived themselves in the "bright" category, the percentage differences were not great (Coleman et al. 1966, p. 287). Whether this item measures self-concept of ability to the degree of the two statements reported in Table 21 is questionable. It is possible for students to say they are of average ability and perhaps mean only that they receive C grades. These twelfth graders may have been measuring school success by grades. To what degree sixth and ninth graders would respond similarly is unknown.

Using more sophisticated methodology, DeBlassie and Healey (1970) found that Spanish American children held more positive self-concepts than did blacks and Anglo children. Table 22 compares mean scores by ethnic group on aspects of self-concept. The study was conducted among some 600 ninth graders in urban southern New Mexico.

One group of researchers recently published corroborating results in a comprehensive study of Mexican American self-concept and

Table 22: Means of Scores on Tennessee Self-Concept Scale

	Anglo	*Black*	*Spanish American*
Identity	119.88	122.23	120.94
Self-satisfaction	94.39	96.26	102.36
Behavior	102.99	103.20	105.43
Physical self	66.56	69.37	69.46
Moral-ethical self	62.20	60.37	64.47
Personal self	61.26	62.38	64.20
Family self	64.25	65.33	65.62
Social self	63.47	64.25	64.93
Self-criticism	37.01	34.40	34.16
Total positive	317.75	321.69	328.70

Source: Adapted from DeBlassie and Healey 1970.

achievement. In the final report of their longitudinal study, Cervantes and Bernal concluded (1976, p. 43): ". . . the assumption that Mexican American students, as a group, reflect low and/or negative affective traits was not supported by this study. To the contrary, the data revealed that these Mexican American students generally scored at or well above the norm in self concept. . . . The data also revealed that the sample students scored below the norm on achievement. Both these conclusions are consistent with most of the recent research in these areas. Nevertheless, the assumption that Mexican Americans have low self concept and attitudes appears to prevail as evidenced by its continued use as a rationale in local education agency proposals for compensatory and bilingual-bicultural program funding. A critical reexamination of this assumption by educators is clearly warranted."

Despite the disagreeable school experience of many Chicano children, the projected negative stereotype, the low achievement, and the early dropout, there is no evidence of generalized negative self-concept. Chicanos seem to be maintaining the self as well as other groups do or better. This phenomenon, if true, can best be explained by pointing out that the group's significant others are found among peers and within the family and community—not within the dominant group or its schools. Following their analysis of the literature concerning black self-concept, McCarthy and Yancey concluded (1971, p. 663): ". . . to the degree that Negroes do not use biased white evaluators in developing a self-evaluation, the process of development of self-identity with the black community will parallel the developmental process in the white community, and to that degree, when social class is controlled, Negroes and whites should not differ in levels of self-esteem." The Chicano is no different. Self-concept in the Mexican American group appears to be undamaged.

Rather than being harmed, most Chicano children are bored by the school. The teachers, administrators, policies, practices, and curriculum are irrelevant to a large percentage of the group. School seems unimportant, and teachers tend to be "insignificant others" to many Chicanos. Despite the projected image of derogation and failure, the average Chicano maintains a positive self-view. This healthy image is developed and reinforced by reliance on family, peers, and immediate community. The ideal and the real selves are as close as for any other group; the children contend with their environment as well as others do.

To argue that Chicano children internalize the negative perceptions projected on them by school and society may be but one more example of the dominant society's ethnocentrism. This assumption implies that the children must be what the dominant society perceives them to be: failures. It also suggests that Chicano culture and the children it produces are weak and are yet another version of cultural deprivation. The home culture is seen as deficient in nurturing those strengths necessary to support and maintain a positive self-concept.

The widespread credence given to the so-called damaged group self-concept is understandable but lamentable. It seems particularly unfortunate that so many Chicano educators adhere to the belief. This explanation for lowered academic achievement and early dropout discourages the in-depth analysis needed to improve Chicano education. Finding causality within the child unfortunately supports the prevailing assumption that the present school practices, policies, formal and informal curriculum, and reward system are satisfactory or need only minor modifications.

Cognitive style

During the last few years a new educational awareness has developed. Through their work Manuel Ramirez III and Alfredo Castañeda (1974) have expanded and popularized the idea that cultural groups develop respective cognitive styles—that is, particular ways of perceiving, organizing, being influenced by, and acting on reality. Concentrating on the cognitive styles of Mexican Americans, the investigators have logically related cultural values to psychological attributes. Additionally, they have suggested techniques to identify and deal with differing cognitive styles. This section focuses on the theoretical aspects, not on teaching or coping strategies. Since the publication of the Ramirez and Castañeda book, teachers in the field have increasingly become aware that children are taught how to learn by being socialized within a given culture. Such socialization leads to distinctive modes of learning. Ramirez and Castañeda stress that Chicano children are bicognitive; that is, they possess two cognitive styles. In developing this theory, they employed the psychological concepts of *field dependence* and *field independence*. (Ramirez and Castañeda prefer and use *field sensitivity* rather than Witkin's original term *field dependence*. They state that the terms *field-dependent* and *field-independent* were first described by Witkin, Dyk, Faterson, and Karp in 1962 and "emerged from their research on perception.") They emphasize the finding that Mexican Americans tend toward field sensitivity. This has both negative and positive ramifications: Although it intentionally furthers the movement toward Ramirez and Castañeda's valuable concept of "cultural democracy," it unintentionally provides another attribute to add to existing stereotypes.

In evolving their theory, Ramirez and Castañeda have combined two ideas. The first, accepted by some educators and many social scientists, is the notion that cultural groups have distinctive ways of perceiving, organizing, and acting on reality. A cultural group develops and transmits to its young its own cognitive style, which reflects the core values of the group. The second, which provides Ramirez and Castañeda with the necessary conceptual framework, is the notion of field sensitivity and field independence as measurable psychological attributes. The result of this combination of ideas is the general concept that Mexican Americans are bicognitive with a strong predisposition to field sensitivity. Ramirez and Castañeda find a logical link between certain Mexican American traditional values and this psychological attribute. In their words (p. 79): "Research has shown that Mexican American and Anglo-American children perform differently on cognitive tasks as well as on tasks reflecting incentive-motivational and human-relational styles. These findings can be explained by the conceptual framework of field sensitivity/field independence. It was hypothesized that differences in cultural values are reflected in socialization practices, which in turn result in differences in cognitive style between Mexican American and Anglo-American children. That is, Mexican American children are relatively more field sensitive and Anglo-American children more field independent."

A closer look at the process shows that a group holds certain important cultural values, which they transmit to the next generation by means of socialization practices. The young are thus taught the values of the parent generation. The children develop distinctive learning styles, incentive-motivational styles, human-relational styles, and communication styles. Each ethnic group teaches its young to understand and to react to reality in the culturally specific ways. These distinct styles are known as *cognitive styles* and can be measured by field sensitivity and field independence. It is assumed that these two polar attributes derive from, or logically relate to, the cultural values of the parent group. Figure 1 is a schematic representation of the relationship the researchers found between cultural values and cognitive styles.

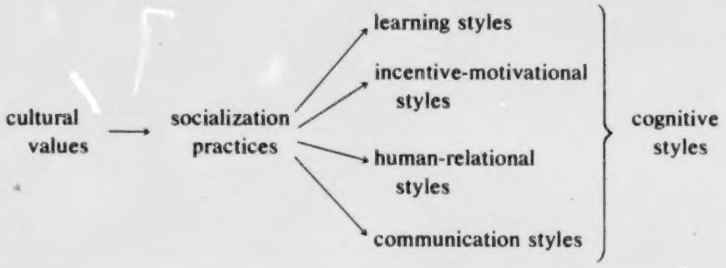


Figure 1. Cognitive styles and culture. (*From Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974, p. 60, Figure 4-1.*)

Ramirez and Castañeda focus on four "value clusters" associated with traditional Mexican American culture: "(1) identification with family, community, and ethnic group; (2) personalization of interpersonal relationships; (3) status and role definition in family and community; and (4) Mexican Catholic ideology" (pp. 41–42). These values are stressed by the parent culture and are consciously and unconsciously taught to, and learned by, the young. The result of this social and psychological process is that children from Mexican American homes generally manifest particular sets of behavior. Drawing from their own and others' research, Ramirez and Castañeda determined, for example, that "Mexican American children were more highly motivated in the cooperative setting than in the competitive" (p. 61). Mexican American children were motivated to achieve ". . . so that their parents would be proud of them or so that their family might benefit from their achievement. In contrast, Anglo children perceived themselves as the principal beneficiary of their achievement." Ramirez and a coworker, Price-Williams, found that in human relations Mexican Americans ". . . scored higher than Anglos on need affiliation, indicating a greater desire to interact with others and belong to a social group, and on need to nurture—showing a willingness to help others" (p. 62). This is related to the value of "personalization of interpersonal relationships" (p. 62). "Need succorance," or willingness to rely on others for help and guidance, as well as a respect for adult authority found among Mexican American children originates within the orientation provided by the Roman Catholic church.

According to Ramirez and Castañeda, children from different cultural groups seem also to manifest different patterns of intellectual abilities and learning styles. In one of the studies that demonstrate this point, Mexican American children told longer stories or gave lengthier responses to pictures depicting school scenes. The researchers cite group differences in verbal ability and in certain Piagetian tasks. The evidence ". . . seems to imply that experiences with certain tasks and differential reinforcement result in a facility for doing some tasks and an inability to perform adequately on others. For example, Mexican American culture emphasizes sensitivity to the social environment; thus, Mexican American children perform well on tasks requiring free association to the names of their peers" (p. 64).

A strong case is made that cultural values lead to specific socialization, which in turn produces unique behaviors. We concur with this premise, but we believe much more empirical evidence is required to demonstrate conclusively their basic proposition that Mexican American enculturation leads to the specific cognitive styles and learning abilities they describe. That particular behavior styles derive from specific core values is probably impossible to prove scientifically, although it is a logical assumption. (For an excellent, detailed critical analysis of

Ramirez and Castañeda's research and theory, see Kagan and Buriel, "Field Dependence-Independence and Mexican American Culture and Education," in I. L. Martinez, ed., *Chicano Psychology*. New York: Academic Press, 1978.)

Ramirez and Castañeda move to their conceptual framework. An organizing pattern ". . . emerged from some of the findings of the Houston study. Data collected with cognitive tests showed that, in general, Mexican American children tended to be more field dependent in cognitive style, whereas Anglo-American children were more likely to be of the field-independent style. . . .

"In a field-dependent mode of perception, the organization of the field as a whole dominates perception of its parts; an item within a field is experienced as fused with the organized ground. In a field-independent mode of perception, the person is able to perceive items as discrete from the organized field. This concept encompasses a wide range of intellectual and affective variables. For example, field-dependent children do best on verbal tasks of intelligence tests; learn materials more easily which have human, social content, and which are characterized by fantasy and humor; are sensitive to the opinions of others; perform better when authority figures express confidence in their ability; and, conversely, perform less well when authority figures doubt their ability. Field-independent children do best on analytic tasks; learn material that is inanimate and impersonal more easily; and their performance is not greatly affected by the opinions of others" (pp. 64–65). Field sensitivity and field independence are found to be correlated with other characteristics. Referring to Witkin's work, Ramirez and Castañeda state: "It appears that in some form or another, field-dependent individuals are more influenced by, or more sensitive to, the human element in the environment. On the other hand, field-independent individuals have an advantage in test situations which deemphasize the human element, situations in which the test material is relatively more impersonal. They are more able to isolate parts from a whole, and are less constrained by conventional uses of objects and materials" (p. 72).

Continuing the logic, Ramirez and Castañeda cite studies that directly or indirectly relate field sensitivity to Mexican American incentive-motivational and human-relational styles (pp. 71–73). Through this mechanism—although the cited studies are limited in number and include very small samples—Ramirez and Castañeda relate field sensitivity to the styles and values of Mexican Americans. Other evidence supports their conclusion that Mexican Americans are significantly more field-dependent than Anglos. There is documentation also that the psychological orientations are positively related to socioeconomic class and sex: Poor people and women are more field-dependent. Field sensitivity and field independence are outgrowths of different patterns of socialization and probably reflect different cultural values.

The points made by Ramirez and Castañeda are intriguing. Whether they have logically and empirically demonstrated a relationship among field sensitivity, styles, and cultural values is probably irrelevant to the layman. What is relevant is that many educators interviewed feel that field sensitivity is common among Mexican American children and that it stems directly from the cultural values of their ethnic group. This new perspective is influencing Southwestern educators. Unfortunately, the eagerness to find a plausible explanation for Mexican American underachievement and underattainment manifests itself in superficial comprehension of the underlying principles presented by Ramirez and Castañeda. As with many other attributes, when teachers are asked about Mexican American children, they often respond that the children are field-sensitive. Rarely does further questioning uncover in-depth understanding of the concept or its instructional implications. Although Ramirez and Castañeda stress that traditionally oriented Mexican Americans exhibit field sensitivity, most educators interviewed attribute the condition to *all* Mexican Americans. Either they do not fully understand the concept or they cannot (or will not) differentiate between those children reared in traditional home culture and those, probably the majority, being socialized into transitional or so-called modern Anglo culture. Most school practitioners, perhaps not understanding the cultural differences among Mexican American groups, see the group as monolithic in cognitive styles as well as in culture, values, and roles. The acceptance of Ramirez and Castañeda's ideas is growing, however; with this inevitably come oversimplification, overgeneralization, and misunderstanding. But educators are beginning to understand that learning preferences differ among groups of children and that one cognitive style is of equal value to another. Concern is often expressed that school content, method, and sequence should be adjusted to fit learning styles. Although little is being accomplished in a concrete way, teachers seem to be increasingly aware that the formal curriculum and the social and psychological classroom environment should not violate the cultural background of students.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

American educators, pressed to explain the failure in school of low-status and minority-group children, continue to rely heavily on the theory of cultural deprivation. The fault is seen to lie in the socialization afforded by the home and neighborhood, and it is assumed that the child must be changed, not society or its educational institutions. Serious questions must be raised about the adequacy of this theory and the effectiveness of school programs based on it. Early critics of the theory posed a number of rather embarrassing questions. Clark had this to say (1965, p. 131): "To what extent are the contemporary social deprivation theories merely substituting notions of environmental immutability and fatalism for earlier notions of biologically determined educational unmodifiability? To what extent do these theories obscure more basic reasons for the educational retardation of lower-class children? To what extent do they offer acceptable and desired alibis for the educational default: the fact that these children, by and large, do not learn because they are not being taught effectively and they are not being taught because those who are charged with the responsibility of teaching them do not believe that they can learn, do not expect that they can learn, and do not act toward them in ways which help them to learn?"

In the first section of the above quotation Clark stresses that the cultural deprivation theory may be little more than the traditional biological determinist position with modern trappings and that the present "theory" is similar to older arguments based on the genetic inferiority of racial groups—for example, the arguments that blacks as a race are inferior and their position in society is a result of racial characteristics; that because race is immutable, so is social status. Jensen's studies unfortunately reinforce this position. Strong overtones of this sentiment were evident among interviewees, although very few took overtly racial determinist positions. There can be no doubt that numerous educators, especially in more conservative areas of the Southwest, believe that Chicano children are inferior – that they are inferior because they are so obviously Mexican. Implicit in this belief is that Mexicans are culturally, if not racially, inferior.

It is assumed by many educators and other observers that a person from a lower-class segment of American society is incompetent and leads an unsatisfactory life, that the conditions of his or her life are somehow negative and bad. As Leacock suggested almost two decades ago (1960, pp. 30–32): "All too often, the concept carries with it the uncomfortable implication that middle-class norms are *ipso facto* desirable, that 'lower-class culture' is merely a subtraction from middle-class culture and has no positive attributes of its own on which to build learning, and that our goal should be to have all children reject any deviation from middle-class standards." The ready acceptance of the cultural deprivation theory is understandable because it provides justification for educators' preconceived views of lower-class and foreign cultures.

From their research concerning the school in an American Indian community, Wax et al. contended that the cultural deprivation concept is equivalent to what they refer to as the "vacuum ideology of education" (1964, pp. 67–70). They stated that school people believed "the Indian home and the mind of the Indian child are meager, empty, and lacking in pattern." The perception of the Chicano child and home held by most educators is not dissimilar. The long lists of Indian deficiencies encountered by these researchers have their equivalents in the prevalent descriptions of the Mexican American. Wax and his coworkers said that "the vacuum ideology is a rationalization for the educator's defeat. . . . given their pathetic image of the Sioux child, then surely it must be a miracle if the school manages to teach him anything." The use of the cultural deprivation argument in relation to Chicanos can be seen as such a rationalization. During the course of the study for the first book, one California teacher interviewed summed it up well: "What can you expect the school to do when you know the children's home and background?"

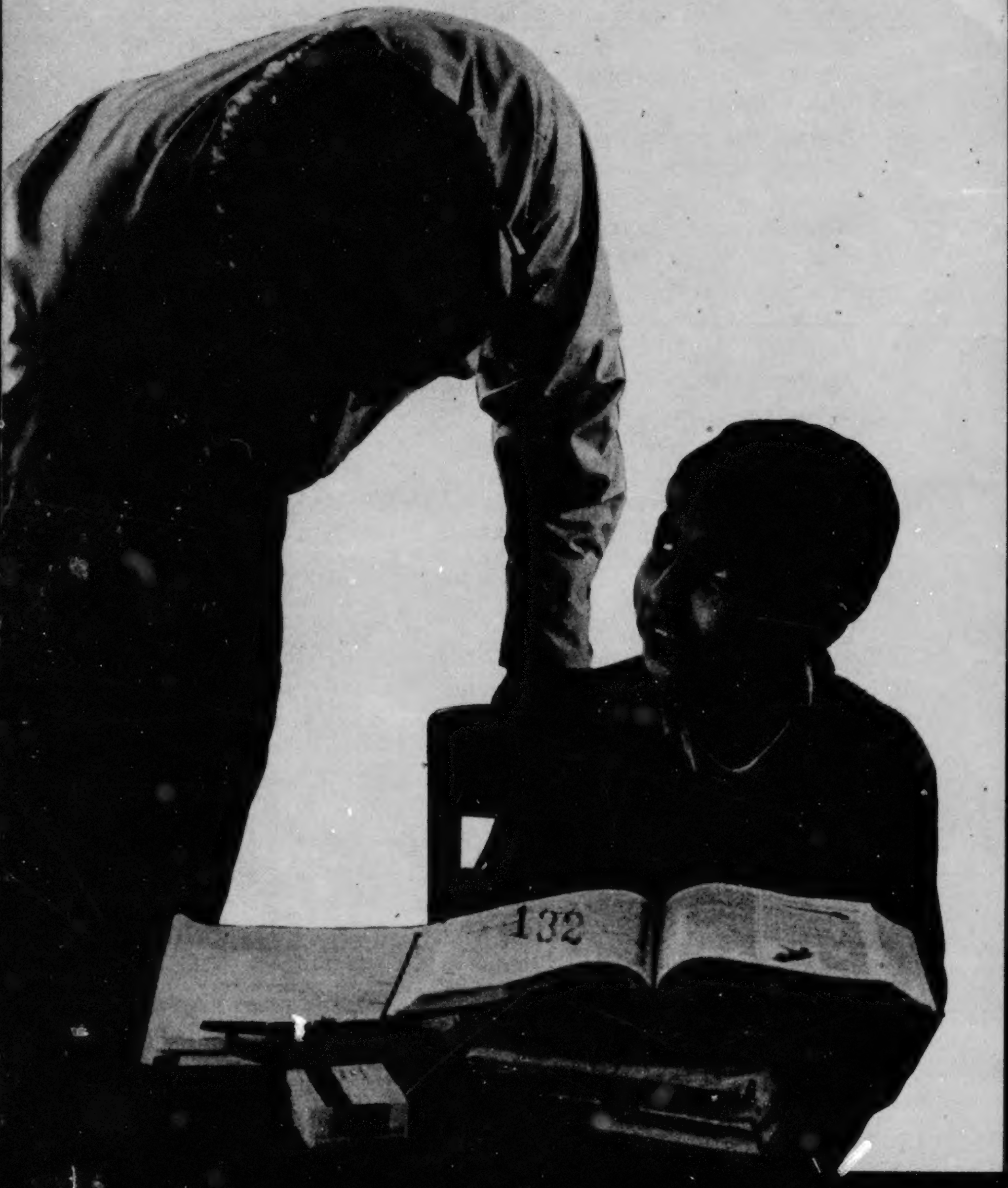
The "inadequacies" of the Mexican American home and culture become the Mexican American child's educational "needs," arrived at by the pedagogic mathematics described earlier in this chapter. Unfortunately, the cultural characteristics regularly ascribed to Chicano children correspond all too often to the clearly defined and widely accepted Southwestern stereotype of "Mexicans" in general. Mexicans are categorized as lackadaisical, individualistic (noncooperative), self-satisfied with their subordinate role, lazy, and imbued generally with a mañana attitude. Much of the information available to teachers supports this stereotype, thus adding a measure of "scientific" verification to their ideas. Certain aspects of the picture of Mexican American culture in the minds of educators may be founded on valid, older descriptions of life-styles, customs, and values. Few Anglo educators are able to test the pictures in their minds against reality. Few have the knowledge or skills necessary, and few interact on anything but a superficial level with their Mexican American students or the minority community. In their relations with poor Chicano children and the community, the superordinate role of the educators encourages belief in their own superiority. Their position almost guarantees it: If they weren't superior, obviously they would not be in authority.

The stereotype of the Mexican American child and culture is not destroyed by exceptional cases. Some low-status children do succeed in school and society. They usually share, or are assumed to share, middle-class values or have some personality characteristics expected or admired by school people. Despite exceptions to the rule, the stereotype of the Mexican American child remains unmodified in its essentials. Teacher-preparation institutions probably do more to support stereotyping than to destroy it. This continues to be true despite a decade of effort toward change. Even as additional empirical evidence that refutes the stereotype becomes available, it is doubtful that it will substantially modify educators' perceptions. The findings of Romero (1966) and others are not widely circulated, and if they were, they would probably be discounted. "Contrary evidence is not admitted or allowed to modify the generalizations; rather, it is perfunctorily acknowledged but excluded" (Allport 1954, p. 23).

To what degree belief in the stereotype so well established in the Southwest contributes to teachers' pessimism about educating Mexican Americans can only be speculative. The stereotype, however, does provide a credible explanation for the behavior and failure in school of Mexican American children, as well as justification for the school programs established to overcome their real or imagined deficiencies. Educators tend to argue that because the problem lies with the home culture, no fundamental changes are required of the school. The educational status quo is thus perpetuated. The situation today is little changed from that of the middle sixties.

More contemporary explanations attribute school failure to Chicano psychological characteristics and the failure of the school to make satisfactory adjustment to them. Ramirez and Castañeda's research on bicognition is a case in point and can serve to move educators toward other explanations. In this interpretation the school is clearly at fault—not the child. Discussion of their theory has been included in this chapter because we believe many educators are adding field dependence to the group attributes of Mexican American children and are employing it in their explanations of school failure. This is not what the two researchers intended—but is another example of how school practitioners misapply research.

4: The Default of the School



A small but increasing number of educators decry the cultural determinist perspective. Instead, they propose the structural environmentalist position. They believe that social, economic, cultural, political, and school conditions are responsible for Mexican American low school and social achievement. They take the position that much of the school curriculum and many school policies and practices inhibit learning and promote culture conflict, emotional problems, and the eventual flight of children from school. (For sources reflecting this point of view see Cole and Bruner 1971; Kleinfeld 1973.) These educators stress that the school is at fault because of its inability to adjust realistically to serve culturally different groups; that there is nothing per se bad or deficient about Mexican Americans, but that the school has failed to capitalize on the good and sufficient child. Denouncing the argument that Chicano children are culturally deprived, the educators see their background as full of meaning, order, and significant experiences. These social analysts believe Mexican Americans are able to make positive functional adaptations to the restraints imposed by external forces within the larger society.

Educators argue the default of the school: The school, reflecting its parent society, is failing the Mexican American. ". . . this view posits that there are differences between minority and nonminority children and also differences among and within the various subcultural communities, and that since public schooling is generally geared toward the middle-class nonminority child, these differences result in the minority child being less able to profit from those experiences, gradually turning out and eventually turning off school completely" (Laosa 1976, pp. 1–2). Recognizing these points, Lopez stated in an address to school people concerned with the education of Spanish-speaking people (1964, p. 16): "I take exception to the word 'problem' when referring to the Mexican American community or the youngster, or so referring to any youngster regardless of his racial background. It is not a minority problem . . . not a problem of the child and so forth. It is a problem of the school, of the total community, of society. So, consequently . . . as we seek solution to these problems, let us not look within little Juan—let's see if we can find the solution to his problem within us."

It is true that the school mirrors its parent society and probably has little effect on changing the nature of that society. The school cannot build new industries, destroy castes, eliminate racial or ethnic discrimination, change the roles of men or women, change power distribution. It is reasonable, however, to assume that the school can eliminate or modify practices detrimental to certain children. Whether or not the elimination of school practices or conditions that discourage Mexican American children will ultimately affect the nature of the local society must await the passage of time. It is possible for schools to radically modify curriculum, organization patterns, teacher expectations—the school social climate. Whether it will make such modifications is the challenge of this and subsequent decades.

The school practices institutional racism: Either consciously or unconsciously, the institution's actions result in the subordination of identifiable racial and ethnic groups. In other terms, the policies and practices (mechanisms) of the school have as their latent function the perpetuation of unequal opportunity. To Backrach and Baratz this is the "mobilization of bias." The Southwestern school perpetuates ". . . a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures . . . that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others" (1970, p. 43). The dominant cultural group benefits—the poor and minorities suffer as the result.

Taking the structural environmentalist perspective, but concentrating on institutional factors, an innovative Texas superintendent contended that the traditional school has crippled many Mexican American children: "We have expected the impossible of the Mexican American child. From the day he enters school he begins to lag behind in acquiring information because the only medium of communication is English. Eventually if he sticks it out he arrives at junior high school two to three years overage. If something isn't done at this age the child will not tolerate too many frustrations and becomes a dropout. These are the kids we have crippled because of the bungling methods we have used in attempting to instruct them in the traditional school." This position postulates that the existing Southwestern school is inappropriate for the majority of Mexican Americans. The school curriculum is dominated by middle-class culture and staff—the language demanded is English. The school has failed to modify itself to fit the Chicano child.

This explanation was developed into the theory of incompatibilities by Cardenas and Cardenas (1972). The major tenet of the theory is that "an instructional program developed for a white, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking, middle-class school population cannot be and is not adequate for a non-white, non-Anglo-Saxon, non-English-speaking, or non-middle-class population." To reverse the pattern of Mexican American failure ". . . it is necessary that the instructional program and the characteristics of the learner be compatible. . . . it is necessary that incompatibilities be identified and eliminated" (Cardenas 1974, p. 8). The theory demanded the elimination of points of difference in order to adjust the instructional program to the cultural and linguistic reality of the children served. An instructional program based on this theory was developed by Cardenas for the Denver schools. Although it was acceptable to the district, it was ultimately rejected by the courts because it did not eliminate segregated schools.

The Denver plan was based on the elimination of student-school incompatibilities. These were grouped into five areas: poverty, culture, language, mobility, and societal perceptions. In the identification of these incompatibilities many of the beliefs concerning the social and psychological attributes associated with the cultural deprivationist perspective appear to have been accepted. Very often the stereotypical assumptions outlined in the previous chapter seemed to be regarded as truly descriptive. For example, there appeared to be acceptance of the beliefs that minority-poverty children develop atypically, lack success models, suffer malnutrition, lack stimulating intellectual activities in their homes, are field-sensitive, and possess negative self-concept (pp. 9–19). Such conditions are viewed as causes of school failure, not because they are deficiencies, but because the school operates counter to them. "No deliberate attempt is made to criticize typical instructional programs when utilized with the children for whom the programs were developed. On the other hand no criticism is made of the characteristics of minority children. The situation is analogous to a square peg in a round hole. The incompatibility between the two shapes does not allow them to get together" (p. 17). The theory seems to postulate:

1. Incompatibilities between school instructional programs and

Mexican American children cause low achievement and attainment.

2. Mexican Americans are culturally different (not deprived). The generally accepted assumptions concerning their psychocultural attributes are valid.

3. The instructional program in the standard school is adequate for the Anglo middle class.

4. The instructional program is the major component of school; change it to fit the personality, language, and cultural characteristics of Mexican Americans, and achievement and attainment will improve.

The Cardenas plan for Denver was rejected; however, a plan based on the theory of incompatibilities was implemented in Edgewood Independent School District in San Antonio, Texas. This experimental program is described in Chapter 7. A comprehensive, five-year longitudinal study was conducted to evaluate the Edgewood project.

The importance of the theory of incompatibilities cannot be overemphasized. It has substantially contributed to the development of an alternative to the cultural deprivationist orientation. We concur with many of its assumptions. There is no doubt that the instructional program in most schools is incompatible with the personal and cultural attributes of many Mexican American children. Cultural difference does not imply deficiency. The school must change to fit the child, not the inverse. We do not share other assumptions underlying the theory. The Mexican American is not as described in much of the deprivationist literature. Many, if not most, of the psychological and cultural attributes that are seen as characteristic of the group must be questioned. The instructional program is only one component of the school. To assume its change will rectify the situation is to give too much importance to one aspect. Forces within the social system are very influential in the lives of children; the instructional program may be one of the least influential. We argue that the present standard school is inadequate for *most* children, not only poor Chicanos. It is sterile, irrelevant, boring, and offers only slight intrinsic reward. Middle-class children persist in school because they have been assured that if they do so, they will obtain a desired future reward. Poor children learn that they will rarely receive the future reward of improved social and occupational status, and they do not put up with school. There is little intrinsic reward in school for most children; there is little extrinsic reward for poor minority children.

Disadvantageous school conditions that subordinate many Chicano youngsters are de facto segregation, isolation in various forms, dependence on English, and inadequate teachers. Less obvious conditions include rigid school practices and policies, curricular irrelevance, culture conflict, and negative perceptions and expectations of educators. The aggregate of these factors produces a generally negative school social environment. Crucial to school survival and success, social climate includes every aspect of the setting in which a child learns and lives in school. This chapter describes the educational mechanisms that systematically discriminate against Mexican Americans. These discrete elements combine to create a milieu in which most Chicanos find learning and perseverance less intrinsically rewarding than it is for middle-class children.

SEGREGATION AND ISOLATION

A large proportion of Chicano children attend schools where they form a numerical majority. Although the 1954 *Brown* decision and its progeny ended de jure, or legal, school segregation, de facto segregation continues and is probably increasing. Isolation of Mexican Americans from other groups is also caused by other school practices and policies that include teacher assignment practices, rigid ability grouping or tracking, maintenance of rigid curricular tracks, special education placements, and even bilingual programs.

All these school mechanisms can discourage sustained, equal-status interaction among differing ethnic populations. Educators may recognize and give lip service to the breakdown of existing social barriers, but they seldom take constructive action to improve the quantity or quality of interethnic contact. The school usually reflects the ethnic separateness and status relationships in the community. Very often the community is ". . . a caste-like social structure . . . in which Anglos have always been on top of the hierarchy and Mexican Americans [have been] isolated on the bottom" (Parsons 1965, pp. 6–7). Segregation and isolation, in their multitudinous forms, perpetuate and reinforce the status relationships found in many Southwestern towns and cities. Children learn their place in society as they practice it in school.

Segregation is alive, not well, and probably increasing in the Southwest. The promise of judicial remedy is fading. The end of school segregation and isolation is not demanded by community pressure, the courts, or educational leadership. Educators appear to align themselves with local racial bias. The assumption that school people are reactionary or racist is highly questionable. Yet, in defense of segregation, they continue to stress pedagogic and financial arguments that are shopworn and tired; only the "evils of busing" and the "glories of the neighborhood school" are new (but shallow) justifications. Many educators believe that remedial and compensatory education programs will resolve the academic problems even in segregated schools. They apparently disregard the bulk of research findings that indicate such programs fail to improve achievement. The principal reason for educators' support of the local mores may be that politically and socially powerful segments within their communities prefer to separate races and ethnic groups. Educational executives subservient to these segments are forced to search out and present arguments to justify isolation. In frustration, many Chicanos now argue that they, too, prefer segregation. Local bias may be getting the upper hand: Mores appear stronger than the law or professed values.

Desegregation does not equal social integration. Separateness, ethnic cleavage, and subordination continue in schools where groups are physically mixed. Rigid ability and curricular groupings keep children apart. Mexican Americans are overrepresented in slow-track, special-education, and vocational curriculums. If they continue to overpopulate these areas, discriminatory practices may be operative. To the extent that standardized intelligence or achievement tests and biased teacher recommendations are employed in assigning students to such groups, flagrant discrimination is obvious. If those in power support and encourage rigid homogeneous ability grouping—even if camouflaged by some newfangled euphemisms—they implicitly support inequality of opportunity. The maintenance of disproportionate ethnic membership in curricular tracks or ability groups is a tacit acceptance of the basic tenet of racism: Certain groups are intellectually inferior.

Ethnic or racial isolation fostered by the school discourages one group from learning from and about the other while it perpetuates the ethnic cleavage and the castelike community the school so beautifully mirrors. Separation implicitly supports racism and prejudice by encouraging the stereotypes with which both are reinforced. Any school action or inaction that discourages sustained, equal-status interaction among differing cultural or racial groups supports the community social system of subordinate minority and superordinate majority groups. Even if facilities are equal, children get the picture, clearly recognizing that despite what educators tell them, Chicano youngsters are not equal. Thus, being "less equal," it is logical that Mexican Americans continue to have less access to the good and desirable things society offers. Continued ethnic separation and subordination breed unequal opportunity and support castelike community divisions, mutual stereotyping, and racism—the very conditions that contribute to the current social upheaval. Little has been accomplished in the last 10 years to ameliorate these circumstances. Although millions have been spent to upgrade Mexican Americans through compensatory and remedial programs, relatively little has been expended or accomplished to eliminate or modify the school policies and practices that encourage isolation and subordination.

De jure and de facto segregation

No Southwestern state provided legally for the separation of Mexican American children; yet the widespread practice gained the force of law. (For a comprehensive study of the Texas situation see Rangel and Alcala 1972.) In the mid-1940s this Southwestern form of de jure segregation was finally terminated by recourse to the courts.

In Texas a triethnic school system with segregated facilities for Chicano, black, and Anglo children developed. Separate "Mexican schools" were maintained in the past on the grounds that the separation was beneficial to Chicano children. Reasons for segregation espoused in official school pronouncements stressed the child's language handicap and need to learn English; need to be Americanized before mixing with Anglos; and slowness in school, which would hinder the progress of Anglos. It was argued that separate schools gave Chicano children the opportunity to overcome these deficiencies, isolated from Anglo competitiveness and thus protected from feelings of inferiority. Segregation further protected them from the Anglo practice of hazing and other discriminations reported to be prevalent before the 1950s. In the eyes of the dominant Anglo society, segregation was provided to aid the culturally deficient in their progress toward cultural sufficiency—that is, the acquisition of American values, mores, and English. In reality, segregating Chicano children provided them with less opportunity to acquire the dominant cultural characteristics. The school functioned to perpetuate the very attributes it professed to wish to eliminate.

Segregation practices, however, implied reasons other than those given by educators. Although no definite or uniform practices were evident, certain conditions raised the question of motives. These included: (1) The tendency for Mexican schools to have vastly inferior physical facilities, poorly qualified teachers, and larger classes than Anglo schools. (2) The practice of placing all Spanish-surname children in segregated schools, even though some were fluent in English. This and the occasional assignment of black children to Mexican schools strongly suggested a racial rather than a language basis for segregation. (3) The lack of effort to enforce attendance laws. (4) The failure to demand enrollment and attendance of Mexican American children while counting them on the school census. This Texas practice was abolished when the state shifted from school enrollment to average daily attendance as a basis for financial support. (5) The discouraging of many children from attending school at all, especially in secondary institutions. Such practices were not universal in the Southwest, but they were extremely common. Some still are. (For more details on segregation and school conditions during this period see Armour 1932; Bogardus 1929; Calderón 1950; Carpenter 1935; Ceja 1957; Clinchy 1954; McWilliams 1968; Rubel 1966; Strickland and Sánchez 1948; Taylor 1934; Trillingham and Hughes 1943; Wollenberg 1976.)

The amount of Mexican American de jure segregation and its

Table 23: Texas School Segregation at Different Grade Levels

Number of districts segregating	*Grades segregated*
9	1–2
16	1–3
23	1–4
27	1–6
13	1–7
17	1–8

Source: Little 1944.

quality are difficult to assess. In a study of 122 representative Texas school districts, Little found that segregation was widespread, but the pattern was not consistent (Table 23). The segregated grades varied substantially. For example, 85 percent of the districts segregated Mexican Americans at one grade level or another. The large number of districts segregating higher grades as well as lower grades violated the often professed educational strategy of separation in the early years to overcome the so-called language deficiency. Thirty of the districts segregated past the sixth grade and apparently maintained separate upper elementary or junior high schools. Only a few had separate schools for first and second graders. Such practices certainly lend credence to the notion that racist beliefs underlay the pedagogic justifications for segregation.

Beliefs revealed in public pronouncements indicated strong racist and economic biases on the part of educators and nonprofessionals alike. Comments such as these were commonly reported: "If the Mexicans get educated, they will go to the cities where they can get more money. Some Mexicans are very bright, but you can't compare their brightest with the average white children. They are an inferior race. . . . Most of the schools here take the money out of the Mexican allotment and use it for the whites" (Taylor 1934, p. 196). Segregation was maintained, seemingly out of fear of intermarriage with "inferior people" and out of fear that it would be difficult to keep educated Chicanos in a subordinate social position. Such perceptions still exist and are probably the functional basis of the widespread desire to maintain neighborhood schools, de facto segregation, and other subordinating school practices.

As in other sociopolitical areas, World War II stimulated Mexican Americans to demand change. Becoming more aware of their rights, privileges, and duties, they demanded an end to separate schools and discriminatory practices of other social institutions. Although it was technically illegal in all Southwestern states, segregation of Mexican Americans had gained the force of law and required legal action to terminate it. In 1946, with Mexican American organizational support, a group of parents initiated legal action against four Southern California elementary school districts. In *Mendez* v. *Westminster School District*, the plaintiffs, on behalf of their minor children, claimed that the school districts discriminated illegally against children of Mexican descent by maintaining separate facilities. The plaintiffs contended that such practices violated their constitutionally guaranteed rights to due process and equal protection of the law. They did not argue the separate but equal tenet; they did not argue that the Mexican schools were inferior. Rather, they agreed that they were as good as Anglo schools and perhaps even superior. The court ruled in favor of the parents and enjoined the districts from segregating. The decision was appealed to a higher court, but the lower court was sustained. This case laid the groundwork for subsequent desegregation decisions – including *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954 – which were similarly argued on the basis of the First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. (See Cooke 1948, pp. 417–421; Sánchez 1951; Wollenberg 1976, pp. 125–135.) In 1948 legal redress was sought to end school segregation of Mexican Americans in Texas. In *Delgado* v. *Bastrop Independent School District*, a federal court ruled that such segregation was illegal. The decision, like that in California, was based on constitutional guarantees of due process. These two cases and similar ones from other parts of the Southwest established that de jure segregation of Chicanos was illegal. Despite these decisions and *Brown*, de facto segregation continues and may be increasing.

Three additional cases are important as they relate to desegregation in the Southwest. During the late sixties legal questions arose whether or not Mexican Americans are an identifiable ethnic minority. Strong arguments were made by school districts that Mexican Americans are legally "white" and that school desegregation could therefore be accomplished by mixing Chicano and black students. This form of desegregation was ordered in Houston in 1970 (*Ross* v. *Eckles*). Similar desegregation plans were challenged in *Cisneros* v. *Corpus Christi Independent School District* (1970) and in *Keys* v. *School District Number One* (1973) in Denver. *Cisneros* established that Mexican Americans are indeed an identifiable minority, recognizable by social and cultural characteristics. Further, it ruled that this category of people suffer prejudice and discrimination, are politically disadvantaged, and in general are a socially subordinate population. Chicanos are not legally white and cannot alone be mixed with blacks to achieve desegregation. The 1973 appellate court decision in *Keys* concurred with *Cisneros* and ruled that schools combining black and Chicano students were to be considered segregated. The court then ordered desegregation and concluded (p. 189): "The statistics suggest that we may face not merely a division into two separate societies, but crystallization of a rigid three-way division in our urban schools. We need much closer examination of the implications of these trends for Latino children and for American society." Regardless of decisions, the battle to end the triethnic school system continues. Texas is the most reticent, but no Southwestern state is eager to desegregate.

In addition to putting Chicanos as a legal class under the protection of *Brown*, the ruling in *Cisneros* found that Mexican Americans were segregated by unconstitutional state action. Although no de jure segregation existed in Texas, school board action was demonstrated to have created its legal equivalent. In *Cisneros* Judge Woodrow Seales ruled that the school district, by ". . . drawing boundaries, locating new schools . . . renovating old schools in the predominantly Negro and Mexican parts of town, in providing an elastic and flexible subjective transfer system that resulted in some Anglo children being allowed to avoid the ghetto, or 'Corridor' school, by bussing some students [to avoid Chicano and black schools], by providing one or more optional transfer zones which resulted in Anglos being able to avoid Negro and Mexican-American schools, not allowing Mexican-Americans or Negroes the option of going to Anglo schools, by spending extraordinarily large sums of money which resulted in intensifying and perpetuating a segregated, dual school system, by assigning Negro and Mexican-American teachers in disparate ratios to these segregated schools, and further failing to employ a sufficient number of Negro and Mexican-American teachers and failing to provide a majority-to-minority transfer rule, was, regardless of all expressions of good intentions, *calculated to, and did, maintain and promote a dual school system* [emphasis added]" (Rangel and Alcala 1972, pp. 351–357). Because school boards are legislative bodies, their actions are interpreted as state actions. The distinction between de jure and de facto segregation was effectively blurred by this ruling.

De facto segregation and ethnic isolation continue. Schools are ethnically and racially out of balance in metropolitan areas as well as in smaller urban and rural areas. Housing patterns continue to influence the placement of new schools. Attendance areas are affected by subtle, and not so subtle, social and economic pressures. The end of legal segregation has not markedly changed concentrations of low-income Chicano children. Segregated or radically out-of-balance schools are sustained by community forces. As families become better off economically, they move from traditional barrios to mixed neighborhoods; the group that remains becomes more homogeneous culturally and economically. Those who leave are replaced by new arrivals from Mexico or the rural Southwest. Few towns or cities are without their barrios. The situation is changing somewhat, but residential segregation remains the common pattern and, with notable exceptions, is reflected in the schools (see Moore and Mettelbach 1966).

The last decade focused national interest on segregation outside the Deep South. Although information was skimpy—ethnic and racial surveys were in their infancy—a number of facts were obvious: (1) Ethnic and racial isolation was common in Southwestern schools. (2) Blacks were more segregated than Chicanos. (3) California was the least segregated and Texas the most. (4) Legal action would be necessary to eliminate segregation.

A 1966 California survey found that in the eight largest (50,000 or more students) districts, 57 percent of Spanish-surname children attended minority schools, 28 percent mixed schools, and 15 percent majority schools. "A simple integration scale was applied to each of the 2,340 schools in the study, comparing each school's percentages of the three largest racial and ethnic groups (Spanish surname, 'other white,' and Negro) with the corresponding percentages of the districts in which the school is situated. Allowing a deviation of as many as 15 percentage points above or below the appropriate district percentage, it was possible to classify each school as high concentration, mixed, or low concentration with respect to each of the three racial or ethnic groups. When the basis of comparison was 'other white' percentage, the term *majority* school, *mixed* school, or *minority* school could be substituted" (California State Department of Education 1967a, p. 10). Eighty-five percent of Negroes attended minority schools, 12 percent mixed, and 3 percent majority. In the smaller districts 30 percent of Spanish-surname students attended minority schools, 63 percent mixed, and 7 percent majority. In these districts, also, Negro children were more segregated. These figures were useful, but they distorted the real situation. There are fewer minority secondary schools than minority elementary schools; to lump them together is misleading.

The 1966 Coleman study of educational opportunity shed additional light on the elementary and secondary school segregation (p. 41): "A substantial number of Indian-American and Mexican-American first graders are in schools in which they are the majority group. This is not true at the 12th grade." The report continued (p. 212): "While the average Negro elementary child is in school where 16% of the students are white, the average percentage of white classmates is . . . 53% for Mexican-Americans. At the secondary level, the average Negro is in a school where 24% of the students are white, while the average percentage of white classmates is . . . 68% for Mexican-Americans."

Although no Texas survey comparable with that of California was available in the middle sixties, an educational executive there commented: "I would say that more Mexican American children generally attend elementary school with other Mexican American children and when it's not that way, generally the ratio will be decidedly in favor of the Anglo—the proportion will be much larger Anglo." This informant implied that there are two types of Texas schools. One is almost exclusively Chicano, the other is almost exclusively Anglo. The pattern is common in elementary schools throughout the Southwest. The Mexican school serves the lower social class; the mixed (but usually predominantly Anglo) school serves the Mexican American middle class.

The first comprehensive study of Mexican American isolation was made by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Based on the first HEW ethnic and racial survey of schools (1968), this study analyzed the data and separated out grade levels. Table 24 reports the findings. Variation by grade level as well as by state is obvious. Widespread segregation was most severe in Texas, where 40 percent of all Mexican Americans attended schools in which more than 80 percent of the other students were from the same ethnic group. Elementary-level segregation was more common in all states: Over half of all elementary-age Chicanos were in predominantly Mexican American schools. There were fewer predominantly minority secondary schools.

Further analysis by the commission brought the statistics to 1972 (Table 25). The trend is obvious. More Mexican Americans were isolated in 1972 than in 1968. The percentage of Chicanos either is remaining about constant or is increasing.

Table 24: Mexican Americans in Predominantly Mexican American Schools by School Levels

	Number in schools 50–100% Mexican American	*Percentage in schools 50–100% Mexican American*	*Number in schools 80–100% Mexican American*	*Percentage in schools 80–100% Mexican American*
Arizona				
Elementary	22,279	46.7	6,948	14.6
Intermediate	1,752	26.8	603	9.2
Secondary	5,330	30.5	0	0
Total	29,361	40.9	7,551	10.5
California				
Elementary	132,906	32.8	45,943	11.4
Intermediate	23,886	22.9	8,361	8.0
Secondary	21,475	15.6	9,998	7.3
Total*	178,266	27.6	64,302	9.9
Colorado				
Elementary	18,000	41.8	3,310	7.0
Intermediate	3,256	23.7	0	0
Secondary	2,007	13.8	788	5.4
Total	23,262	32.6	4,098	5.7
New Mexico				
Elementary	44,076	74.7	16,647	28.2
Intermediate	9,842	49.7	1,497	7.6
Secondary	14,521	59.9	3,641	15.0
Total	68,440	66.5	21,785	21.2
Texas				
Elementary	218,411	69.9	145,555	46.6
Intermediate	52,911	59.6	27,556	31.0
Secondary	64,006	61.5	28,764	27.6
Total	335,328	66.4	201,876	40.0
Southwest				
Elementary	435,672	50.3	218,403	25.2
Intermediate	91,648	39.3	38,018	16.3
Secondary	107,338	36.0	43,191	14.5
Total	634,656	45.5	299,613	215.0

* Differences between sum of numbers and totals are due to computer rounding.

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 1, based on Fall 1968 HEW Title VI Survey.

Table 25: Mexican American School Enrollment by Ethnic Proportions of Southwestern Schools

	50–79% Minority enrollment		*80–100% Minority enrollment*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
1968	341,954	24.4	414,689	29.7
1970	375,115	24.3	467,847	30.3
1972	424,765	26.6	474,604	29.6

Source: Adapted from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Twenty Years After Brown*, Table 2, March 1975.

In June 1976 Senator Edward W. Brooke and Senator Jacob K. Javits released a study of nationwide segregation prepared by the Brookings Institution. Unfortunately, this research did not use the geographic and demographic categories of the Civil Rights Study. The Brookings Institution report, however, demonstrated similar alarming tendencies. Based on official HEW statistics, the study found (p. 1): ". . . there has been very little change in the high levels of segregation of black school children during the 1970's . . . that the Southern, Midwest, and Border states have continued to make some progress while segregated school enrollment in the Northeast has increased. The West has remained virtually unchanged since 1970. . . . The data also show very high levels of segregation of Latino children, the nation's rapidly growing second-largest minority group.[1] The segregation of Latino students continued to increase in the 1970's in all regions of the nation."

A graphic illustration of this finding is presented in Table 26, which compares black and Latino concentrations in minority schools in 1970, 1972, and 1974. As noted above, the Brookings investigators did not report on the five Southwestern states separately. They included Texas in the "South" and Oregon, Washington, Utah, and Idaho in the "West." It is logical to assume that 85 percent of all Latinos in the South are Mexican Americans living in Texas. Perhaps 90 percent of Latinos in the West are Chicanos living in California, New Mexico,

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[1] *Latino*, as used in this report, includes all persons of Spanish origin: Mexican American, Puerto Rican, etc.

Table 26: Percentage of Black and Latino Children in Minority Schools

	Percentage in schools with 50% or more minority enrollment						*Percentage in schools with 90% or more minority enrollment*					
	Black			*Latino*			*Black*			*Latino*		
	1970	*1972*	*1974*	*1970*	*1972*	*1974*	*1970*	*1972*	*1974*	*1970*	*1972*	*1974*
South	62.1	56.2	55.5	72.6	72.3	72.8	34.2	25.7	23.4	36.1	35.5	34.1
West	74.3	73.6	73.4	48.5	51.4	56.3	50.5	46.9	45.1	14.6	14.2	15.7

Note: To analyze trends it was necessary to limit the study to those districts that had consistently provided data to HEW over the five-year period. The districts studied contain 31,800 schools and enroll more than 90 percent of the nation's black children and about 75 percent of those with Spanish surnames. Because a number of small districts, which have lower levels of segregation, are not included, the total national figures might well show modestly higher levels of desegregation. The study clearly shows the trends affecting the majority of black and Hispanic children, particularly those in the big cities where the busing conflict is most severe.

Source: Center for National Policy Review, *Trends in Hispanic Segregation*, 1970–74, Tables 1, 2, 3, 4.

Arizona, and Colorado. The Civil Rights Commission findings in Table 25 relate well to the Brookings data. Although they are not exact, the data are close enough to support the belief that the status quo is being maintained, with slightly increased Mexican American isolation.

The trend is clearly established in California, in general the least segregationist of the five states. A California study traced isolation from 1967 to 1973 (Table 27). California studied another Southwestern isolation phenomenon. A large percentage of Mexican American and black children attend schools where their respective group predominates; Chicanos go to school with Chicanos, blacks with blacks, whites with whites. Table 28 shows the findings. This study pointed out the degree of isolation of one group from another in California. The majority group is the most isolated; 9 out of 10 Anglo children attend schools

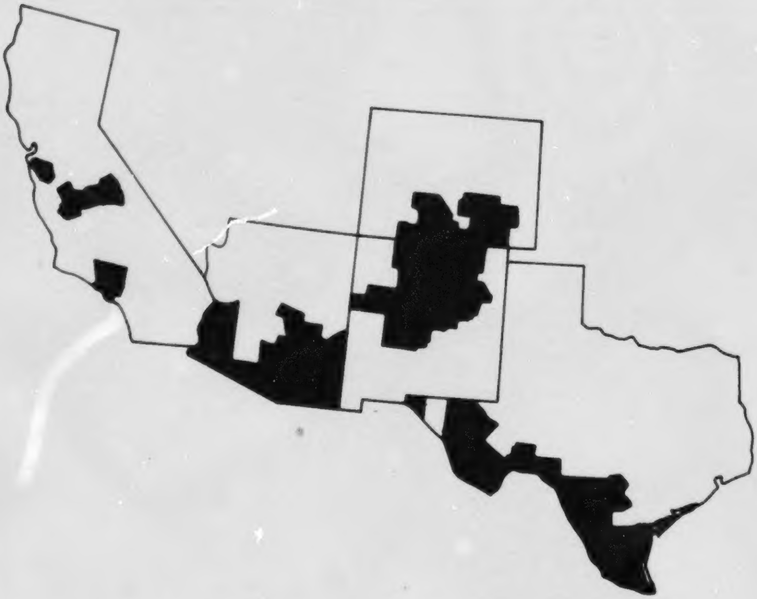

Figure 2. Regional concentration of Mexican American pupils within states. (*From U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report I, p. 19.*)

where their group is 50 percent or more. Yet one-third of the Mexican Americans and over one-half of the blacks go to school where their respective group predominates.

An understanding of ethnic isolation in the Southwest demands an understanding of geographic concentrations. Figure 2 and Table 29 demonstrate that Chicanos are not evenly scattered throughout the five states. The shaded areas in Figure 2 represent the following percentages of Mexican American enrollment: Arizona, 54 percent; California, 50 percent; Colorado, 31.4 percent; New Mexico, 62.7 percent;

Table 27: California Pupil Distribution in All Schools 50 Percent or More Minority

	Black		*Spanish Surname*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
1967	297,283	40.3	229,589	33.1
1968	297,660	40.6	248,366	33.9
1969	304,042	39.2	269,196	34.7
1970	308,284	37.4	286,049	34.7
1971	316,499	35.8	306,359	34.6
1972	(no data available)			
1973	318,038	34.0	346,242	37.0
Change				
1967–73	+20,755	−6.3	+116,653	+3.9

Source: Report of California State Department of Public Instruction, Table 6.

Table 28: Incidence of Ethnic and Racial Isolation in California, Fall 1973

Concentration of respective group	*Majority group*	*Black*	*Mexican American**
0–59.9%	5.5	3.5	9.3
60–69.9	7.6	3.3	6.9
70–79.9	14.1	4.1	4.6
80–89.9	26.3	8.3	5.1
90–100	41.7	33.9	6.0
50–100	95.3	53.1	31.8

* Cited in source as Spanish surname.

Source: Report of California State Department of Public Instruction, Table 9.

Table 29: Concentration of Mexican American Enrollment in Large Urban School Districts

	Major urban school districts	*Percentage of state Mexican American enrollment*
Arizona	Tucson	19.2
California	Los Angeles	20.2
Colorado	Denver	26.1
	Pueblo	13.5
New Mexico	Albuquerque	27.3
Texas	San Antonio	9.1
	El Paso	6.7
	Houston	6.[illegible]

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 1, based on Fall 1968 HEW Title VI Survey.

and Texas, 62.3 percent. Mexican Americans are further concentrated in the urban centers within these general areas of concentration. They are most isolated within the large urban school districts listed in Table 29.

Table 30 shows these large districts and the amount of Chicano isolation within them. According to the Civil Rights Study, nearly 60 percent of the 635,000 Chicano children enrolled in predominantly Mexican American schools were also in predominantly Mexican American districts (Report 1, p. 29). In Texas the percentage was 79. As expected, New Mexico was also high, with 55.4 percent. In states with less heavy Mexican American concentrations, the percentages were lower. In high-concentration districts, desegregation is difficult if not impossible. In San Antonio the 13 districts that serve the city appear to coincide with ethnic boundaries. In 1968, 90 percent of San Antonio's Chicano children were attending five predominantly Mexican American school districts (Report 1, p. 24). The solution is relatively simple on paper: Consolidate the districts or implement cross-district desegregation. In Las Vegas, New Mexico, and Del Rio, Texas, two school districts existed within one community, one Chicano and the other either mixed or predominantly Anglo. Las Vegas was two incorporated cities with two school districts. Del Rio was one city with two school districts. Despite other reasons for the two school systems, strong segregationist overtones were evident. In Del Rio a federal

Table 30: Mexican American Students in Selected City Districts

	Mexican Americans attending schools 50% or more minority*		*Mexican Americans attending schools 80% or more minority*	
	1970	*1974*	*1970*	*1974*
Arizona				
Tucson	74.7	67.8	56.7	51.0
California				
Los Angeles	69.8	79.4	50.2	55.5
San Diego	35.8	39.5	24.7	24.9
San Francisco	75.1	99.1	23.0	25.6
Long Beach	21.0	28.2	0	3.6
Fresno	41.4	44.0	9.3	8.2
Garden Grove	0	10.2	0	0
Sacramento	41.2	48.6	12.6	2.8
Colorado				
Denver	60.3	69.5	25.5	12.7
New Mexico				
Albuquerque	70.7	70.7	26.5	29.4
Texas				
Dallas	53.4	58.2	50.7	33.9
San Antonio	90.3	96.8	74.1	77.2
El Paso	85.1	80.1	64.9	67.1
Austin	69.7	58.0	59.3	49.1
Corpus Christi	80.0	82.2	67.7	58.7

* Originally cited as Spanish surname.

Source: Center for National Policy Review, *Trends in Hispanic Segregation*, 1970–74, Vol. 2.

judge ordered the consolidation of the two districts as well as a comprehensive bilingual educational plan. The Las Vegas situation continues, although New Mexico legislators forced consolidation into one township.

History and geography have isolated Mexican Americans from contact with Anglos. In all five states there are districts that are predominantly Mexican American; in many the percentage is over 85, and in some it approaches 100. These districts are concentrated in counties along the border; in California's rich agricultural valleys; in northern

New Mexico and southern Colorado; in the small Texas cities along the Rio Grande, especially in Starr, Kennedy, and Zapata counties.

This has been a discussion of the quantitative – not the qualitative – aspects of ethnic and racial isolation. (Chapter 7 considers the outcomes of desegregation.) There are undoubtedly a few examples of positive social climate in schools with varying ethnic and racial compositions, and institutions of poor quality can be found regardless of ethnic concentrations. De jure segregation has ended; de facto segregation continues. The conclusion is that unless strong steps are taken, Mexican Americans will remain equally segregated or become more so in the future. Although few educators interviewed were overtly segregationist, most defended the neighborhood school and contended that the closing of Mexican schools would work to the disadvantage of the children. Their arguments are similar to those used previously in defense of de jure segregation. "For the first five grades, segregation is advocated . . . on the ground that the children make better progress and have a chance in that time period to learn the English language and thus to compete with American children on a fairer level than would be the case in an earlier grade level" (Bogardus 1928–29, pp. 276–283). A frequently heard reason for maintaining Mexican schools is that parents are perfectly content with the status quo: There have been few pickets or objectors. Another argument is that desegregation and bilingual education can be operationally contradictory. The *Lau* (1973) decision, which requires special efforts for limited- or non-English-speaking students, could be difficult to implement in desegregated schools. (See Chapter 7 for a full discussion.) Limited-English-speaking children would be spread so thin within the system as to preclude special services. The argument is not solely one of logistics, but also one of implied education goals for linguistically different children. Two forces with differing goals meet; reconciliation may be difficult.

Isolation by staff assignment

The assignment of Mexican American teachers to minority schools isolates children from contact with Anglos and other ethnic groups. The rationale is that Chicano teachers, having had similar life experiences, understand their charges and are the best possible role models. Chicano spokesmen encourage school administrators to hire bilingual teachers and to assign them to Mexican schools. "Bilingual" is almost invariably translated as "Mexican American" by Southwestern administrators. The Colorado Commission on Spanish-Surnamed Citizens reported (1966, p. 62): ". . . given equal academic or even lower academic qualifications, the Chicano teacher applicant deserves special consideration because of special qualifications he possesses . . . (1) the Chicano teacher is an excellent role model of success – his presence in the school seems to encourage Mexican American children; (2) his ability to speak Spanish; and his ability to understand and give special counsel to many Mexican American students . . . The second qualification may not always be valid . . . Mexican American teachers . . . from upper-middle-class-urban culture may have nothing in common with a poor working class Spanish-surnamed student."

Many Mexican American teachers do not, or cannot, speak Spanish even though they are regularly assigned to schools with a high percentage of Chicanos. The recent affirmative action directives instituted by the federal government often have similar results. School district officials are more inclined to hire Mexican Americans to teach Chicanos than to hire minorities to teach the majority group. Although there are advantages and disadvantages to both approaches, the practice of assigning Chicano teachers to Mexican American schools continues and reinforces ethnic isolation.

Community attitudes influence the hiring and placement of Mexican American educators. In some conservative areas court orders have been required to force districts to recruit and hire minority staff. In other districts self-initiated efforts are successful. In general, Mexican American teachers are (1) highly desired by districts with large Mexican American populations; (2) assigned to minority schools in proportion to the number of Mexican American students; (3) concentrated at the elementary level; (4) assigned to special programs for Mexican American children – bilingual, compensatory education, ESL; and (5) appointed at the secondary level to teach Chicano studies, Spanish, or special programs designed to help Mexican American students.

Except in districts in which the population is almost wholly Mexican American, there are few Mexican American administrators. The majority of Mexican Americans fill teaching positions. The few administrators are almost invariably principals of predominantly Chicano schools, or serve as district-level administrators in charge of special activities related to federal projects, community involvement activities,

Table 31: Estimated Employment of Mexican American School Staff in the Southwest

Positions held by Mexican Americans	*Mexican American composition of schools*			
	0–24%	*25–49%*	*50–74%*	*75–100%*
Teachers*				
Number	3,810	1,438	2,525	3,904
Percentage of Mexican Americans	32.6	12.3	21.6	33.4
Percentage of total in position	1.5	3.9	11.7	30.4
Principals*				
Number	84	53	85	162
Percentage of Mexican Americans	21.9	13.8	22.1	42.2
Percentage of total in position	0.9	3.6	10.0	31.5
Assistant principals				
Number	24	8	24	64
Percentage of Mexican Americans	20.0	6.7	20.0	53.3
Percentage of total in position	1.8	1.6	15.0	38.1
Counselors				
Number	56	48	24	56
Percentage of Mexican Americans	30.4	26.1	13.0	30.4
Percentage of total in position	2.6	6.3	9.8	25.5
Librarians				
Number	8	16	8	48
Percentage of Mexican Americans	10.0	20.0	10.0	60.0
Percentage of total in position	0.7	3.0	3.3	20.0

* Teacher and principal data are from 1968 HEW survey and represent a more inclusive sample than for other categories, which are based on 1969 survey of districts with 10 percent or more Mexican American population.

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 1, Tables 13, 16.

Table 31 – Continued

Positions held by Mexican Americans	*Mexican American composition of schools*			
	0–24%	*25–49%*	*50–74%*	*75–100%*
Other nonteaching professionals				
Number	40	52	28	72
Percentage of Mexican Americans	20.8	27.1	14.6	37.5
Percentage of total in position	4.2	13.0	16.3	27.3
Secretaries				
Number	224	224	188	508
Percentage of Mexican Americans	19.6	19.6	16.4	44.4
Percentage of total in position	3.1	8.3	17.7	50.0
Custodians				
Number	2,040	1,316	980	1,432
Percentage of Mexican Americans	35.4	22.8	17.0	24.8
Percentage of total in position	16.5	29.3	53.8	79.2
Teachers' Aides				
Number	296	560	548	1,204
Percentage of Mexican Americans	11.3	21.5	21.0	46.2
Percentage of total in position	10.6	28.6	48.9	66.6
Pupils				
Number	258,280	295,008	202,880	329,028
Percentage of Mexican Americans	23.8	27.2	18.7	30.3

compensatory programs, or bilingual education. Chicano administrators work at all levels in the almost totally Mexican American districts, but are generally low-level administrators in Anglo-controlled districts – even where most students are minority – and are associated with activities that bring them into contact with the ethnic community. Despite the advantages, such practices tend to isolate Mexican American communities and children from contact with Anglos, and vice versa. Too few Mexican Americans are in education, and their assignments unfortunately contribute to ethnic isolation.

With the advent of federal aid, most school districts employed classroom assistants. The placement pattern closely paralleled Mexican American student concentrations: Chicano aides were hired for Chicano classrooms and schools.

The Civil Rights Study devoted considerable effort to an investigation of staff assignments. Although the data are from 1968 and 1969, there is no reason to suspect a major change in trends. Table 31 presents the commission's findings. Both the underrepresentation and patterns of isolation are obvious. Mexican American staff are overrepresented in schools 50 percent or more Mexican American and especially overrepresented in schools over 75 percent. Only counselors are found to a greater degree in schools with less than 50 percent Mexican Americans.

Table 32 gives a state-by-state breakdown of teachers. As in many other areas, Texas is the most segregative of the five states and California the least. California places most of its Mexican American teachers in ethnically balanced schools, and Arizona and Colorado place almost 50 percent. Yet the overall pattern in the Southwest shows a disproportionate number of Mexican Americans in minority-dominated schools, a result of the relatively large percentages of Chicano teachers in Texas and New Mexico.

Mexican Americans are increasingly entering education. More Chicanos are in positions of authority than was the case a decade ago. Many, however, are occupying "soft-money" positions at all levels. When outside support disappears, the jobs will probably end. Most of these positions have not been institutionalized by districts. The failure of the federal and state governments to demand institutionalization in return for continued funding will soon be severely felt. With the termination of funding, many Mexican American educators will no longer be employed.

Brain drain

As movement of rural Mexican Americans to the cities continued, another form of isolation was developing. In one rural school district in northern New Mexico, administrators discussed the so-called brain

Table 32: Assignment of Mexican American Teachers by School Composition and by State

Percentage of Mexican Americans in school	*Arizona*	*California*	*Colorado*	*New Mexico*	*Texas*
	Percentage distribution of Mexican American teachers				
0–24.9	41.4	66.0	47.3	13.9	12.3
25–49.9	26.8	16.5	26.0	15.6	5.4
50–79.9	25.3	10.2	16.7	45.6	21.8
80–100	6.4	7.3	10.3	24.9	60.5
Total	100.0*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Percentage of all teachers who are Mexican American				
0–24.9	2.1	1.7	1.3	5.1	0.8
25–49.9	4.9	3.2	4.8	13.7	2.8
50–79.9	8.8	5.4	6.1	27.2	13.0
80–100	9.4	10.1	22.7	44.8	36.3
Total	3.5	2.2	2.3	16.2	4.9
	Number of Mexican American teachers				
	514	3,769	497	1,774	5,133

* Minute differences between sum of numbers and totals are due to computer rounding.
Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 1, Table 13, based on Fall 1968 HEW Title VI Survey.

drain: ". . . there is a kind of cycle, a continuum of migration from the rural areas to the more urban and this drains off the more qualified people at all levels so that the more qualified semi-urban are moving to the small city, so that you constantly are faced with a lowering quality of aspiration. The intelligent, relatively speaking, the well-educated, the ambitious, leave the more rural areas. But what it means to teachers and superintendents in the small city is that they are constantly dealing with children of a less ambitious group of people or less upwardly mobile." Whether this effect on the quality of students is reality or the educators' perception of reality is of little importance: Because they think it is true, teachers' expectations may be lowered and their efforts may be lessened.

The brain drain may partially be responsible for the low attainment levels reported in certain areas by the census. Roman Catholic schools may also act to attract the more academically successful. Approximately 20 percent of the 1969–70 enrollment in Southwestern Roman Catholic schools had Spanish surnames (Civil Rights Study, Report 1, p. 15). If this is still true, Mexican Americans are slightly overrepresented in Roman Catholic schools; however, numbers are less important than the quality of the enrollment.

It is reported that Roman Catholic schools principally enroll Mexican American children of upwardly mobile or middle-class families. Comments by informants for this study varied greatly on this subject. Lampe (1975) studied the influence of the school on the acculturation of Mexican Americans in San Antonio. Eighth-grade Chicanos from nine public and nine parochial schools were given a paper-and-pencil questionnaire to determine the degree their feelings, attitudes, and values were similar to those of Anglo students. He found that parochial school respondents were significantly more acculturated (similar to Anglos) than public school respondents. These differences remained even when variables such as socioeconomic status, sex, religiosity, aspirational levels, and ethnic composition of the schools were controlled. This greater acculturation was attributed to the nature and quality of parochial education. It may be argued that the more acculturated parents send their children to parochial schools; however, if it is generally true that more Anglo-like students are found in Catholic schools, the brain drain notion may be valid. If such schools attract the more acculturated, they may attract the more academically successful. Whether Lampe's findings are representative of the Southwest in general is open to question. Each parochial school is different, as is each community and its public schools. The degree to which Roman Catholic institutions take the best academic prospects must be determined by local study. Without intervention by the courts or school districts, Mexican American isolation in schools will increase. If the acculturated pupils *are* leaving rural areas and barrios, Mexican American–dominated schools will become even more homogeneous. Poor Mexican Americans will increasingly be in contact with persons of like background and aspirations.

SEPARATION IN MIXED SCHOOLS

In ethnically mixed institutions many Chicanos are nevertheless isolated – sustained, equal-status interaction with other groups is rare.

The *agringado* ("Angloized Mexican American") middle-class students usually mix well with their Anglo peers. They tend to achieve and react in ways similar to other middle-class children, even though they may suffer from a more-than-normal identity crisis. Most Mexican Americans, however, occupy lower-class status and are not acculturated to middle-class norms; many are carriers of traditional, transitional, or barrio orientations. Even though these Mexican Americans attend mixed schools, they may be isolated from their Anglo and *agringado* peers. School policy and practice contribute to this isolation, tending to reinforce the ethnic and social cleavage of the Southwest. The school reflects the community and perpetuates distinctive Mexican and Anglo roles and status expectations.

Ethnic cleavage

In much of the Southwest two separate, castelike social structures exist side by side. This social relationship is characterized as dominant-submissive: the Anglo segment superordinate, the Chicano subordinate (Simmons 1952). The school mirrors and is a microcosm of the community it serves: Whatever social patterns are locally extant are reflected in the community's educational institutions. Loomis concluded in his early study (1943, p. 25): "The measures of cleavages used indicate strong tendencies for Spanish-American and Anglo students in the two New Mexico high schools studied to choose associates from within their own ethnic groups." Parsons reported that ethnic division characterized the small California farming community he called "Guadalupe" and that the school reflected, reinforced, and taught different roles (1965, pp. 386–387): ". . . ethnically differentiated social patterns and associated stereotypes are learned by village children quite early. After the second grade, Anglo and Mexican-American children increasingly restrict their social choices to members of their own ethnic group. By the time they reach the upper elementary grades, there is virtually complete social separation between the two groups. That the children are aware of Anglo dominance is reflected in their leadership and prestige choices. Both Anglo and Mexican-American children choose Anglos as sources of prestige and both groups made significant choices of Anglos for positions of leadership. One of the most impressive features of the Guadalupe social structure is the high degree of functional integration exhibited by its major institutions in the maintenance of the traditional ethnic patterns. Whether they are at home, in church, at school, on the playground, shopping with parents, attending scout meetings, or watching . . . festival activities, children are provided with examples of the social positions they are expected to occupy and the roles they are expected to play. They are frequently shown that Anglos are best in everything and the Mexicans are the worst. Mexican-American children are rewarded in school and in church when they look and act like Anglos and punished (or ignored) if they look and act like Mexicans."

The degree to which school personnel act to perpetuate ethnic cleavage differs with each institution and community. Interviewees generally contend, however, that teachers reflect the community stereotyping of, and expectations for, Mexican Americans. Chicanos interviewed report that teachers' behavior appears to reflect community attitudes. Students say that teachers ask the class, "Why are you Mexican kids so lazy?" Others report that teachers show a preference for Anglos and that they regularly choose them for school leadership roles.

Physical education activities may also reflect the school's isolationist and separatist orientations; teams are divided on ethnic lines. When Guadalupe teachers responded to questions concerning this procedure, "Most said that it was 'traditional' for the PE activities to be arranged along ethnic lines. . . . Many agreed that there was likely to be less 'trouble' if the two ethnic groups were kept separate" (Parsons, pp. 300–301). Parsons contended that teachers and administrators "share the general Anglo stereotypes of Mexicans and . . . use these as the basis for organizing their perceptions of, and programs for, the Mexican pupils."

In the summary of his dissertation Parsons mentioned the following practices, among others, that contribute to ethnic differentiation of pupils and stereotyping within the school (pp. 306–307): (1) posting achievement charts—there is a tendency for students to use charts as a basis for judgments about classmates; (2) sending Mexican American pupils who "smell" out of the room; (3) establishing and continuing formal teacher-student relationships between Anglo teachers and Mexican American students, in contrast to the less formal relationship between Anglo teachers and Anglo students; (4) placing the Mexican American students in a subordinate position to Anglo students by implying that Mexican Americans lack intelligence and need "the guidance of Anglos who know better." It is strongly recommended that the Parsons study be read in its entirety for full understanding of its significance. The degree to which Guadalupe social conditions are characteristic of other Southwestern schools can only be determined by painstaking on-site study. Objective observation and institutional self-analysis are essential for those who would attempt to improve the social climate by eliminating school-supported ethnic cleavage.

Repeated observations of interethnic relationships in school result in the unsurprising conclusion that ethnic separation is general in Southwestern schools, its degree and nature determined by community social patterns and reinforced by the school. The control educators have over school intergroup relations usually reflects the views of the more conservative and influential members of the community. On the other hand, where communication is permitted in mixed schools, adolescents are experimenting with new relationships; perhaps youth is responding to the national climate of ethnic acceptance instead of reacting solely to the local social patterns.

With varying degrees of success and speed, students are reported to be breaking down ethnic boundaries, particularly in social contacts between the sexes. Interviewees commented that interethnic dating is increasing; adolescents seem to be more likely to date members of other ethnic groups. Mexican American–Anglo dancing is rarely discouraged by the school authorities, as it was reported to be formerly. Yet, the most traditional Mexican American students and the more conservative Anglo youths are reported to feel that such close contact is wrong. Some Angloized Mexican Americans are acceptable as steady dates of Anglos. An Anglo boy with a Mexican American girl is mentioned as an increasingly common arrangement. Popular Chicano boys date Anglo girls, but more stigma seems to be attached in this case. Despite the permissive racial and sexual attitudes of today's youth, most persons restrict their serious activities to members of their own group. Numerous teachers interviewed for the first study spoke of their dislike for mixed dancing and dating. They contended that although the school could do little to discourage it, they themselves informed the offenders (almost invariably the Anglo partners) of the stigma ascribed to such activities. Recent interviewing has failed to discover such feelings. Boy-girl relationships are changing; the more urban and desegregated the environment, the more the change is evident.

Even in communities with the most rigid ethnic cleavage, there is a general acceptance by educators that any school-sponsored activity is open to all students. Academic and sports activities are seldom, if ever, closed to students because of their ethnic background. In the past, certain sports activities were closed to "Mexicans": One informant stated that tennis was lily-white, but in other sports Mexican Americans were welcomed. In this same Texas school, until 10 or so years ago, debate and drama activities were open only to Anglos. These restrictions were broken down by ambitious Chicano students. It is rarely school officials who encourage the breakdown of ethnic barriers; rather, they respond belatedly to the reality that students have already destroyed the obstacles established by tradition.

Social-class barriers still exist and may be replacing ethnic distinctions. School policy requiring fees to enter certain activities discourages lower-class students, regardless of ethnicity. One school, for example, provided band instruction on an advanced level only, thus excluding children who had not had private lessons. In other schools students have to buy equipment before they can go out for certain sports. Admission into the Anglo or middle-class ethnic peer groups usually requires acceptable dress and cars. Because most Chicano children come from lower-socioeconomic homes, economic factors discourage their full integration into student life. The degree and nature of these hidden costs of education depend on school policy, which in turn is influenced by the local community attitudes. Variations among areas are great.

Over the last 10 years the quality and quantity of ethnic cleavage have changed. Conclusions about future trends are difficult to reach because many forces, of varying strength, cause different outcomes. Young people of all groups in every mixed school visited are helping to eliminate obvious school practices that support ethnic cleavage. Less obvious mechanisms, such as ability grouping, have not been affected. Yet ethnic isolation continues: Two or three ethnically identifiable groups persist in all schools observed. Even in the most conservative communities, however, a few members of each group are breaking down the ethnic separatism. Two counterforces are operative: On one side raised ethnic consciousness and concomitant ethnocentrism contribute to ethnic cleavage, while the more accepting and open nature of today's youth fosters its elimination. Educational institutions continue, explicitly and implicitly, to teach children to conform to the community expectations. Although most of the more obvious sanctions of the school are disappearing, implicit sanctions against ethnic togetherness are still evident; their full exposition must await detailed study of the individual school and community.

Separation by curriculum

Educators speak of the special needs of minority-group children and establish school programs to meet them. Most such needs are assumed to be satisfied by special classes or programs to overcome the so-called deficiencies of Mexican American children. Special compensatory education (usually remedial) programs are common. The Civil Rights Study reported almost 60 percent of Southwestern schools offered remedial reading courses (Report 3, p. 28). Because of institutional practices such efforts can result in curricular tracks that isolate Mexican American students. Classes or programs that require attendance for a period or so a day (the child is in regular mixed classrooms the remainder of the day) are the most common. This kind of organization does not isolate the child to an unwarranted degree. Other programs do substantially isolate Chicanos, who then tend to associate with their Chicano peers and, in essence, attend a subschool within an ethnically mixed institution. Institutional organization and procedures can discourage or prohibit such sections or groups.

Any number of special programs can keep Chicanos from sustained contact with other groups. Bilingual education, usually organized as a compensatory program for Chicanos, may isolate them even if classes are within ethnically mixed schools. Bilingual schools may be all Mexican American. Similarly, English as a Second Language (ESL) programs may keep non-English-speaking students from contact with others. Any class, program, or activity that separates out a racial or ethnic group should be carefully studied and evaluated. The negative consequences of sustained isolation are probably greater than the positive accomplishments of the special program. In evaluating the pros and cons of the programs, the real outcomes – not the goals or assumed outcomes – must be considered. For example, an all-day ESL program must be evaluated in terms of actual English learned versus the consequences of isolation. What did the students learn or not learn from being set apart from their peers? If Mexican Americans are found to be concentrated in certain curriculums or programs, the reasons should be investigated. Isolation itself is sufficient cause to suspect institutional racism—that is, to suspect that certain school mechanisms are functioning to subordinate the group. These practices or policies may not have been established for racist purposes; however, they can function to the detriment of the group.

A common finding is that Mexican Americans are concentrated in vocational, business, commercial, or agricultural curriculums in high schools; they are almost invariably underrepresented in the academic, or college-bound, tracks. The reasons are many and varied: Curricular tracks may be the normal consequence of ability tracking in lower grades. Counselors may assign, or aid Mexican Americans to choose, curriculums appropriate to their assumed needs and abilities. Similar situations may be uncovered where biased or racist school staff are funneling Mexican Americans into special vocational classes or sections. Recently we encountered a high school with two curricular tracks within its agricultural program. This school serves an agricultural area in California. One curriculum prepares agricultural workers, the other prepares students for college work in agriculture. Mexican Americans and blacks overpopulate the worker program; the precollege program is almost exclusively Anglo. Only careful institutional self-study will uncover the mechanisms that isolate groups by curriculums.

Homogeneous ability grouping

One of the important functions of schools in all societies is to aid in the allocation of status and role—that is, to select and prepare children to occupy the differing but ever-recurring social and economic slots. Although the methods vary, they tend to correspond to the values and social system of the respective national societies. This selection and preparation are essential to a well-functioning society. Some individuals must be identified as possessing a certain aptitude or potential and subsequently prepared to become plumbers, lawyers, merchants, or chiefs; others, to become auto mechanics or teachers. It would be a wasteful approach to attempt to prepare all children for all roles and statuses. Few question the social function; many decry the way the system actually works. Many educational critics believe that present sorting practices merely perpetuate status at birth and that children of the lower social class are prepared only to enter low-status social slots little different from those of their parents. The school employs mechanisms that identify and differentially treat the poor in such a manner as to almost predetermine low status when they leave school. If this is true, the school is indeed granting status by ascription rather than proscription; the process, counter to the core values of American society and to those professed by the school, may well reflect the contemporary American social system.

The evaluation of intellectual potential, or aptitude, is used to sort individuals; homogeneous ability grouping is the universal mechanism to treat groups differentially. Great concern is manifest that Chicanos tend to be sorted into low-ability tracks and to leave school prepared only to enter the lower social classes and low-status occupations. The charge that the school recycles the poor is commonly made. Much evidence supports the allegation that the school recycles the Mexican American. Although the problem does not necessarily relate directly to ethnicity, the overrepresentation of an ethnic group in a low-ability track is evidence of some mechanism that is biased.

Rigid homogeneous ability grouping and tracking have several effects. One of the most important is isolation of one ethnic group from another. Separation in itself may not be discriminatory; however, a concomitant effect can be social subordination. Low-ability grouping is recognized as such by the students in it as well as by those in high-ability sections. Teachers and other school staff perceive, and behave differently toward, children in these groups. An ethnic group that predominates in low-ability sections is stigmatized.

In one form or another, classification by ability is widely practiced in Southwestern schools. For our purposes, a distinction is made between grouping and tracking. *Grouping* refers to the practice of temporarily placing children in groups, sections, or classes with other children of assumed like ability. Pupils are in different groups for different subjects, depending on their ability in that subject. An example at the elementary level is the assignment of a child to a special class for slow readers for a short period during the day; the remainder of the school day is spent in a heterogeneous classroom. An example of grouping at the secondary level is the assignment of a student with high mathematics ability and low language arts ability to appropriate sections of those two subjects. Both in elementary and in secondary schools, grouping can become permanent. There is more flexibility at the elementary level, however, because teachers make the decisions. At the secondary level the total school bureaucracy becomes involved, and inflexibility and permanence increase. *Tracking* is an extreme form of ability grouping in which children are permanently assigned to cohorts (tracks) composed of individuals assumed to have like intellectual aptitudes or potentials. In a tracked elementary school, children are assigned by ability to homogeneous classrooms. Their total school experience could be with peers of similar ability. Departmentalized (usually secondary) schools appraise general intellectual capacity and assign students to classes with those of like ability. In an extreme example, such students could attend *all* their classes, in whatever subject, with others of assumed similar ability.

Tracking treats ability as generalized; grouping recognizes differing abilities in different academic areas. Tracking, which requires formal institutional decisions, planning, scheduling, and curriculum organization, thus contributes to inflexibility, student immobility, and permanence. The two systems are difficult to distinguish in operation: Many institutional variations and combinations exist in practice.

Group and track placement are usually determined on the basis of grades, teachers' observations, achievement and intelligence tests, counselors' evaluations, and behavior records. Appraisal of intellectual potential and achievement, however, whether by standardized tests or by more informal means, is usually the principal determinant of assignment. In these measured characteristics Chicano children tend to fall below local and national norms, and thus are assigned to low-ability groups and tracks. The quality and quantity of grouping and tracking are difficult to determine. Schools often attempt to camouflage the practice. But overrepresentation of one ethnic or social group in a class or section suggests grouping and tracking. School people should determine if racist mechanisms are operating.

Only two formal studies have investigated the extent of grouping and tracking in the Southwest. The 1966 Coleman study reported that 37 percent of the Mexican American children attended elementary schools where tracking was used, compared with 48 percent of the majority-group students (pp. 13–14). In the Southwest 79 percent of the Chicano secondary school students attended schools that were tracked, compared with 82 percent of the Anglo secondary school students. Coleman and his coworkers determined that the percentages of Mexican American children in the highest and lowest tracks were almost identical to the white student percentages (p. 112). This finding is contrary to everything that we observed in the field or that was subsequently reported by the Civil Rights Study. With this important exception, our field observations generally support Coleman's findings. The amount of tracking was undoubtedly greater than indicated; the problem of definition (and perhaps stonewalling) may have contributed to the Coleman findings. The first edition of our study concluded that tracking at the elementary level was increasing and at the secondary level was well established. Today it appears to us that grouping is increasing in elementary schools and that tracking is still general and well established in secondary institutions.

47. Does this school group or track students according to ability or achievement in this grade?	A. ☐ Yes, for all students. B. ☐ Yes, for highest achieving students only. C. ☐ Yes, for lowest achieving students only. D. ☐ Yes, for highest and lowest achieving students only. E. ☐ Yes; some plan other than the above is followed. (specify) ____ F. ☐ No.
48. If you checked A, B, C, D, or E above (question 47) on any grade, check which of the following best describes the system of grouping in that grade.	A. ☐ Pupils are placed in a particular group and attend all classes within this group. [tracking] B. ☐ Pupils may be in different groups for different subjects depending on their ability in that subject. [grouping]

Figure 3. Civil Rights Study principal's questionnaire. (*From U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report 6.*)

The Civil Rights Study was more complete, more meticulous, and more recent. Unlike the Coleman report, it differentiated between grouping and tracking. Principals of 1,032 representative schools in the Southwest were asked to respond to questions for grades four, eight, and twelve (Figure 3). Even with such a carefully constructed questionnaire, there was confusion. Many principals seemed to believe their ability grouping was different from all others; thus the respondents found it extremely difficult to fit their own system into the two categories. Hundreds of phone calls were made in attempts to clarify the situation. Over 90 percent of those questioned replied adequately and provided the information in Table 33. Our observations suggest that almost all secondary schools practice some form of ability grouping and that tracking in Southwestern high schools is much more widespread than reported. We feel sure the principals were unable or, perhaps, unwilling to respond correctly. Very often the official policy of a school is grouping, and the result is tracking. For example, students assigned to *all* low-ability-level academic subjects are essentially

Table 33: Grouping and Tracking Practices in Southwestern School Districts

Mexican American school composition	*Schools that group*	
	Elementary	*Secondary*
0–24.9%	61.6%	79.2%
25–49.9	66.5	77.6
50–74.9	62.5	81.3
75–100	66.4	83.3
Total	63.4	79.3
	*Schools that track**	
	in 4th grade	*in 8th grade*
0–24.9%	17.9%	8.3%
25–49.9	15.8	10.4
50–74.9	20.5	26.8
75–100	36.2	28.5
Total	19.5	12.6

* Too few schools reported tracking at the twelfth-grade level for comparison.

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 6.

tracked, despite the official practice of grouping. More important than the quantity is the relationship between grouped and tracked students and the Mexican American concentration in a school. Our field observations concur: in general, the larger the Chicano percentage in a school, the more ability grouping and tracking.

The Civil Rights Study investigated the crucially important relationship between ethnicity and ability group placement. Table 34 reports their findings. As stated earlier, on the basis of less formal research Mexican Americans were found to be grossly overrepresented in the low-ability groups and underrepresented in the medium- and high-ability groups. The Civil Rights Study documents this inference. The concentration of Mexican Americans within schools doesn't appear to make a great difference in track placement. Mexican Americans, however, are more likely to be in low-ability tracks in schools with more Anglos.

Even when rigid ability grouping systems are not employed in the elementary school, it is common practice to divide children into two, three, or more relatively permanent groupings as they enter junior high school. At this level, vocational, occupational, and academic aspirations and aptitudes are considered more fully. Aptitude and achievement, regardless of how they are determined, are matched with college

Table 34: Distribution of Chicanos and Anglos in Specified Ability Track Levels

		Ability group track			
Mexican American school composition	*Student ethnicity*	*Low*	*Medium*	*High*	*Total*
0–24.9%	Chicanos	36.4%	53.6%	10.0%	100.0%
	Anglos	14.6	62.1	23.3	100.0
25–49.9	Chicanos	36.2	55.2	8.6	100.0
	Anglos	15.5	62.6	21.9	100.0
50–100	Chicanos	30.2	50.4	19.4	100.0
	Anglos	12.6	43.8	43.5	99.9*
Total	Chicanos	33.4	52.7	13.9	100.0
	Anglos	14.6	59.1	26.3	100.0

* Figures do not add to 100 percent because of computer rounding.

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 6.

or vocational requirements. These groups, usually well established and stable by the end of junior high school, continue in high school. Disproportionately high percentages of Mexican American children are in vocational and low-ability tracks and are underrepresented in academic curriculums (see Hickerson 1962; Parsons 1965). In high school it is almost impossible to move out of a curricular track, principally because of institutional restrictions. A first grader has a better chance to change tracks than a tenth grader.

The concentration of Chicanos in the low- and middle-ability groups reinforces ethnic isolation. In some schools almost all Mexican Americans and practically no Anglos are in the lowest group. Interaction as social equals is difficult if one ethnic group is characterized by the school as unintelligent. Placement in low-ability groups, to which poorer teachers and facilities are often assigned, indicates institutionally approved social and intellectual subordination. School mechanisms that sort children into less-than-equal positions in a manner leading to ethnic or racial overrepresentation are highly suspect. If the ethnic imbalance found in school ability groupings reflects valid appraisals of intelligence, it would have to be concluded that Mexican Americans are indeed an inferior race. If intelligence is equally distributed among all groups, as we are convinced it is, the tools and mechanisms of evaluation and placement are in error. Yet isolation and subordination are only the most obvious of the many negative aspects of rigid ability grouping.

Most educators interviewed argued for homogeneous ability grouping of one form or another, perceiving it to be the fairest and most efficient way to handle intellectual differences and encourage maximum achievement. Few recognized homogeneous ability grouping as a form of segregation and as a self-fulfilling prediction. The general complaint was that instruments to determine ability are inadequate. Educational institutions rely heavily on the results of group and individual psychometric devices to sort children. Yet almost every educator interviewed maintained that such instruments are neither appropriate nor valid for culturally or linguistically different children. A paradox exists. Most teachers and administrators contend that the school and the student would be better off, or equally well off, if they stopped relying on these tools. But the institutions, well-oiled and self-perpetuating, continue to make decisions that affect the life chances of children on the basis of tests agreed to be of questionable validity. Serious questions must be raised about the techniques used to sort culturally and linguistically different children. The questions become doubly serious when the sorting results in ethnic imbalance within groupings.

Most educators interviewed believe that assigning students to homogeneous groups or tracks encourages maximum academic achievement by eliminating extremes of ability, thus providing a more comfortable and less threatening learning environment. The curriculum can meet the needs of students as a group and as individuals. Other educators contend that the practice has adverse effects on student attitudes, aspirations, and self-concepts and discourages students from reaching their maximum potential.

Studies of the effects of homogeneous grouping on student achievement and attitudes are generally inconclusive. A comprehensive survey of relevant research, conducted by Goldberg, Passow, and Justman in the United States as well as in Europe, disclosed (1966, p. 21): "Many of the issues concerning grouping remain unresolved, and most questions are still unanswered despite 70 or 80 years of practice and at least 40 years of study. Insufficient and conflicting data are being used to support partisan views concerning the consequences of grouping, rather than to resolve the persistent issues." In a more recent survey of research, Findley and Bryan concluded (1970, p. 3): "Ability grouping, as practiced, produced conflicting evidence of usefulness in promoting improved scholastic achievement in superior groups, and almost uniformly unfavorable evidence for promoting scholastic achievement in average or low-achieving groups."[2]

When Goldberg, Passow, and Justman conducted their own carefully constructed study of elementary school tracking in New York City, they found (pp. 167–168): ". . . in predominantly middle-class elementary schools, narrowing the ability range in the classroom on the basis of some measure of general academic aptitude will, by itself, in the absence of carefully planned adaptations of content and methods, produce little positive change in the academic achievement of pupils at any ability level." They also found that such grouping did not significantly affect the self-concept, attitudes, or aspirations of their middle-class sample. They pointed out that this may be true because the low-track students in their study did not differ socially or ethnically from those in high-ability sections, ". . . thus did not perceive their status as socially or racially segregated with a concomitant degradation which such segregation may imply" (pp. 165–166). Speaking to similar situations, Findley and Bryan concluded (p. 352): "The effect of ability grouping on the affective development of children is to reinforce favorable self-concepts of those assigned to high achievement groups, but also to reinforce unfavorable self-concepts in those assigned to low achievement groups. Low self-concept operates against motivation for scholastic achievement in all individuals, but especially among those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and minority groups." We argue that rigid ability grouping has a particularly damaging effect on a very large number of Mexican Americans.

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[2] See Appendix C for Findley and Bryan's four general ability groupings and a summary of their findings and recommendations.

Three sources of information – the extensive literature on tracking, the limited literature related to tracking of Mexican Americans, and our observations and interviews in the Southwest – lead us to agree with the conclusion of Goldberg, Passow, and Justman (p. 168): "Grouping can be, at best, ineffective, at worst, harmful. It can become harmful when it lulls teachers and parents into believing that because there is grouping, the school is providing differentiated education for pupils of varying degrees of ability, when in reality that is not the case. It may become dangerous when it leads teachers to underestimate the learning capacity of pupils at the lower ability levels. It can also be damaging when it is inflexible and does not provide channels for moving children from lower to higher ability groups and back again." The negative aspects of rigid ability grouping overwhelm the possible positive outcomes. Ability grouping as commonly practiced lowers academic achievement while concomitantly encouraging the students to internalize negative feelings that stem from the institution's perceptions and subordinating treatment. It is our contention that homogeneous grouping and tracking adversely affect both teachers' and students' expectations and subsequent behavior. The overpopulation of Mexican Americans in low-ability groups encourages them to feel segregated. The practice is bad for everyone; it is disaster for the culturally and linguistically different as well as for the poor.

Regardless of the effect on affective and cognitive development, rigid ability grouping in the Southwest unduly isolates Chicanos from equal-status interaction with others and reinforces existing stereotypes. Mexican American children learn their future subordinate role in society by practicing it at school; Anglos reaffirm their superordinate position by finding proof that Chicanos are indeed dull-witted. Ethnic homogeneity in tracks or groups accelerates ethnic cleavage and supports local prejudice.

Grouping by ability is an ethical, a legal, and an educational responsibility. Three characteristics of the system are of particular constitutional and legal concern: (1) Tracking and similar systems create a hierarchy of social and educational standing not based on merit. (2) The system ratifies social caste standings and reinforces social stereotypes. (3) The system reduces most students' educational opportunities, but opens virtually no new ones. The legal-ethical question becomes, "Is it the prerogative of the school to predict, and act to predetermine, success or failure in school and society?" If American society is based on the inalienable right to succeed, can this right be abrogated by the practices of the schools? Concomitant with the right to succeed is an equally inalienable right to fail. As long as the school impinges on neither, our system is served and enhanced.

Four major legal tests can be applied to any ability grouping system: "Despite their myriad forms, [ability grouping] systems share a common theoretical underpinning and historical genesis . . . four characteristics are critical to analysis of any system at any level where grouping is done on the basis of ability. First, the *inclusiveness* of a grouping scheme determines how many subsequent opportunities at any given educational level remain open to the classified individual. The test of inclusiveness is the extent to which grouping limits or expands future choices of development. In the most inclusive schemes, all children placed in the lowest first grade classification will end up nine years later in the lowest high school track. The second common characteristic is *electivity*, or the degree to which a child's placement reflects his (or his parents') choice. Third is *selectivity*, which comprises the nature of the chosen 'index of ability' or 'learning capacity' and consequently the type and degree of unit homogeneity resulting from the selection process. Finally, there is what can be called the scheme's *comprehensiveness*, which is a measure of how complete and how long lasting is the effect of any particular classification decision on the individual student" (Hall 1970, p. 2). If a grouping system can be proved to deprive children of their rights, as determined by any of these four characteristics, a strong legal case can and should be made.

The four tests were applied in the late 1960s. In a landmark case a United States District Court ultimately enjoined the city schools of Washington, D.C., from tracking. The evidence presented during the trial, concerning the nature of tracking in Washington, D.C., could equally well describe the system in most Southwestern schools. The decision was based on provisions of the Constitution ensuring due process and equal protection of the law. The court found that the track system, as practiced in Washington, deprived poor people and blacks of rights guaranteed them and was, by its very nature, discriminatory. After extended hearings Judge Wright stated in his closing remarks: "Even in concept, the track is undemocratic and discriminatory. Its creator admits it is designed to prepare some children for white collar, and other children for blue collar, jobs. Considering the tests used to determine which children should receive the blue collar special, and which the white, the danger of children completing their education wearing the wrong collar is far too great for this democracy to tolerate" (*Hobson* v. *Hansen*, p. 515). This decision was based almost exclusively on the test of "selectivity," not on the broader concepts of the constitutionality of different types of school services for differing ability groups. The judge enjoined the District of Columbia schools from employing the track system on the grounds that there was no constitutionally appropriate way to select the children for the different tracks. The tools themselves were ruled to be biased and discriminatory. Without its testing program Washington school officials could not justify assigning some children to high- and some to low-ability tracks.

Although tracking itself was not ruled to be unconstitutional, its constitutionality was of concern. Judge Wright stated that ". . . it should be made clear that what is at issue here is not whether defendants are entitled to provide different kinds of students with different kinds of education. Although the equal protection clause is, of course, concerned with classifications which result in disparity of treatment, not all classifications resulting in disparity are unconstitutional. If classification is reasonably related to the purposes of the governmental activity involved and is rationally carried out, the fact that persons are thereby treated differently does not necessarily offend." His decision did not eliminate differential treatment, but reaffirmed that means must be rationally related to ends. The methods used to sort, for example, must logically contribute to an appropriate and desirable end. In this case they found that the means – the psychometric tests – were biased and inappropriate because they did not adequately evaluate intellectual potential. Although the decision rested on the selectivity test, the trial proceedings included testimony relating to the other tests and to the constitutionality of the tracking system itself.

The selectivity test has become the most successful litigation against the rigid ability grouping and has been used in numerous cases concerned with the placement of the mentally handicapped. The impact, however, of *Hobson* v. *Hansen* on tracking of normal children in Southwestern schools has been minimal. There has been no hue and cry to eliminate rigid ability groupings.

A case similar to *Hobson* v. *Hansen* was brought in Los Angeles in 1973. In *Arellano* v. *Los Angeles Unified School District* the plaintiffs claimed that the selection device – standardized tests – discriminates against the culturally different and the poor, that such instruments are used to sort the culturally different and the poor disproportionately into low-ability tracks, and that schooling in such tracks deprives the students of equal educational opportunity. This action is still pending.

The previously widespread practice of assigning all Chicano or Spanish-surname children to Mexican rooms within mixed schools has probably disappeared. Such extreme tracking by race was a form of segregation, popular in areas where no Mexican school was maintained. Samora reported (1963b, pp. 2–3): "Many communities have had their 'Mexican rooms' for years and years. This is segregation on pseudopedagogical grounds, the reasoning behind being that children who come to school who are Spanish-speaking should be placed in a room by themselves in order to learn English." Some "slow classes" in mixed schools continue to be 100 percent Mexican American. It is difficult to determine whether such tracking is established for ethnic or for ability reasons. A 1967 case in point involved a school district in eastern New Mexico (a section referred to locally as "Little Texas"). The district had a long history of isolation and discrimination against Chicanos. Pressure from Mexican American organizations was exerted; state education department officials intervened, and an explanation and solution were forthcoming. A Mexican American organization officer interviewed contended that Mexican rooms were the result of ethnic prejudice rather than ability grouping. In the early seventies, when the senior author of this book was a consultant to Project Follow Through in Texas, a school proposed to use federal funds to implement a first-grade program that required rigid homogeneous ability classrooms. In the school's opinion these classes were essential to the instruction program they had selected. Such rigid groupings would have resulted in a number of 100 percent Chicano classrooms. After a threatened withdrawal of funds, the district implemented the program without perpetuating Mexican rooms.

Other practices that isolated Mexican Americans were common. In many parts of the Southwest, Mexican American children were assigned to special pre-first-grade classes that would prepare them for regular first grade. These were often found in mixed schools and were very common in Mexican schools. Automatic retention of Mexican American children for a second year of first grade often resulted in similar isolation.

Ability groupings take many forms. Some are the consequence of ethnic bias, most the design of well-meaning educators and the public. Grouping and tracking are well established in the thinking of educators and in institutional culture. Actions based on biased or misinterpreted psychometric information result in excessive numbers of Mexican Americans in low-ability groups. This overrepresentation is evidence of institutional racism. On the other hand, the whole concept of homogeneous ability grouping is in question. The usual arguments favoring the practice are not supported by research. Constitutional issues are involved. The damage or potential of damage that results from such grouping outweighs the potential for good. Such schemes generally do not produce the desired results. We believe that rigid ability grouping has particularly negative effects on Mexican Americans and on the total school environment in the Southwest.

Special education

Sections for children classified as mentally retarded are examples of tracking at one extreme of the ability continuum. Mexican Americans and blacks continue to be overrepresented in classes for educable mentally retarded (EMR). The EMR category usually implies mild retardation – an IQ between 50 and 70. Before and during the sixties the number of minorities in EMR classes was truly excessive. Contemporary reports, although inconclusive and limited, indicate that the severe imbalance of California and Texas Chicanos in EMR categories is lessening. Although legal actions have resulted in mandated educational changes, the apparent reduction in the number of Chicanos in special education may be only a relabeling: The school reality for children may be similar to that of previous periods. Only careful study of individual or representative schools can verify the social situation. In special education, however, we have an example of how a concerted legal assault on the California educational establishment has effected substantial institutional change. Either judicial mandate or the threat of it has brought official recognition and, in some areas, elimination or substantial modification of racist mechanisms. These changes are primarily the result of outside pressure; unfortunately, they do not stem from strong pressure within the profession. Substantive educational change rarely, if ever, originates within the profession.

The first edition of this book reported on special education in California, the only state releasing enrollment records by ethnicity at that time. In the 10 California counties with the largest number of Mexican American students, there were almost twice as many Mexican American children in EMR classes as their percentage in the total school population would have warranted. These counties had an average Chicano enrollment of 15 percent; yet 30 percent of EMR students were from that group. When the Chicano percentage declined within a county, their representation in special education also declined. It was suggested that the larger the Mexican American percentage within schools, the more likely it was that the children would be considered retarded. In California as a whole, 13.3 percent of the students had Spanish surnames and 26.62 percent of special-education students had Spanish surnames (California State Department of Education 1967a).

During the sixties the overrepresentation of minority students in special-education classes was common to all five Southwestern states. Mexican Americans were doubly and blacks triply overrepresented in classes for the mildly retarded. The Civil Rights Study reported that in Texas 1.0 percent of Anglo pupils, 2.1 percent of Mexican American pupils, and 3.4 percent of black pupils were in EMR classes (Report 6, p. 28). The corresponding figures for California were 0.5 percent, 1.2

percent, and 2.3 percent (communication with David Dietrich, Division of Special Education, California State Department of Education).

Although Mexican Americans were overrepresented in classes for the educable mentally retarded, they were not assigned disproportionately to classes for the more seriously retarded. In 1967 Mercer and her staff compiled data on mental retardation in the Riverside–San Bernardino area, a California metropolitan area chosen as representative. She found disproportionately large numbers of mental retardates of Chicano and black background. In the 1973 report of her study, Mercer found that "Anglos who constitute 82% of the population under 50 years of age make up only 54% of the 812 labeled retardates. Mexican-Americans, who compose 9.5% of the under 50 group, contribute 32% to the labeled retardates—more than 300% more than would be expected from their proportion in the population. Blacks, who constitute 7% of the population under 50, contribute 11% to the register of labeled retardates" (p. 79). The disproportion was even more marked in Riverside area schools. Regardless of the differences in the degree of over- and underrepresentation, Mercer's work clearly reflected the well-established pattern in the Southwest.

Table 35: Comparison of IQ and Physical Disability Scores by Ethnic Group

Variable	*Anglo* (N = *361*)	*Mexican American* (N = *221*)	*Black* (N = *79*)
IQ			
0–19	6.5%	2.8%	1.3%
20–39	9.4	2.8	6.6
40–59	22.1	22.2	32.9
60–79	47.4	67.6	55.3
80+	14.6	4.6	3.9
Physical disability scale			
0	32.1	61.5	71.3
1	19.4	17.2	10.0
2	16.9	10.8	7.5
3	9.3	2.3	5.0
4	5.1	1.4	2.5
5+	17.2	6.9	2.5

Source: Mercer 1973, p. 80.

Mercer reported another and equally disturbing finding: The three ethnic groups are not proportional on the severe-to-minimal retardation scale or in the number with physical disabilities (Table 35). Mercer concluded that ". . . the peculiar characteristic of the labeled Anglo population is that it has a higher percentage of persons at both extremes, while Blacks and Mexican-Americans are highly concentrated in the middle ranges, IQs between 40 and 79" (p. 81). The Mexican American and black students were prone to be labeled and treated as EMR, but not as severely retarded. Given a normal distribution curve of ability, this condition was highly questionable. Either physical and mental disabilities are unevenly divided among ethnic groups, or Anglos are better able to get special services for their physically handicapped children than are minorities. On the basis of her findings, Mercer reasoned that "the low-status, school-age Mexican-American male is the most vulnerable to the dynamics of the labeling process. He is the most intellectually and physically normal of all persons on the clinical case register. At the other extreme, preschool and adult Mexican-Americans and Blacks are essentially immune to the labeling process. There were no preschool minority children nominated by clinicians for the register, and only a few adults over 30 years of age" (p. 82). There is every reason to believe that these patterns in the Southern California communities were representative of other sections of the Southwest.

By the early seventies the overrepresentation of Mexican Americans and blacks in mental-retardation and EMR classes was officially recognized. The methods of labeling, testing, and selecting were questioned, and steps to eliminate the practice were taken in Texas and California. Successful litigation in California, which led to mainstreaming, and similar actions in Texas to integrate students into regular classrooms have eliminated gross overrepresentation of Chicanos. Major impetus for change grew out of federal action to end school district discrimination against the mentally retarded. On May 25, 1970, J. Stanley Pottinger, then director of HEW's Office for Civil Rights, issued a memorandum whose impact was significant even though federal pressure was rarely applied to enforce compliance. HEW's position strongly influenced subsequent state and legal action. The May 25 memorandum is presented in the following section of this chapter.

The assignment of Mexican Americans to special-education classes and their apparent deprivation of due process and equal protection engendered legal action beginning in 1968. Three California cases—*Arreola* v. *Board of Education at Santa Ana, Diana* v. *State Board of Education,* and *Covarrubias* v. *San Diego Unified School District*—led to court orders and legislation to correct the problem. Legislation was implemented through the California Administrative Code (Title V) and the California State Department of Education, mandated to monitor the situation. Casso, in his comprehensive study, synthesized the legal complaints brought in the three cases into 12 major issues (1973, pp. 251–252):

"1. It was found that state policies and guidelines of the California State Department of Education regarding EMR education existed, but were not adhered to by administrators of school districts or the schools themselves.

"2. Mexican American and Black children who were not mentally retarded were in fact misplaced in mentally retarded classes.

"3. Mexican American and Black children were placed in EMR classes disproportionately to their respective student population in the given school districts.

"4. Determination and placement of the linguistically and culturally different children was made on the basis of IQ tests alone, which tests were not normed to include them nor provided for language and cultural differences.

"5. The IQ tests used were culturally biased in favor of the Anglo middle class Midwestern child to the detriment of the linguistically and culturally different child.

"6. The IQ tests used by these school systems measured more a child's English language competency rather than the Mexican American and Black child's mental ability.

"7. The children wrongfully placed in EMR classes were not provided with a quality curriculum sufficient to educationally challenge them to allow for mental growth with any hope to progress out of the EMR classes.

"8. The consent of the parents whose children were wrongfully placed, which consent was provided for by law, was not an informed, true or valid consent.

"9. The Mexican American and Black children misplaced in these EMR classes were stigmatized for life. This misplacement was tantamount to a life sentence of illiteracy, public dependency and lack of real opportunities.

"10. The privacy of the misplaced children was violated since the EMR status was permanently on the children's record, available to teachers throughout one's school life and to employers throughout one's work life.

"11. Serious psychological, economic, educational, social damage resulted from misplacement of children into the EMR classes.

"12. The fundamental educational rights of these Chicano and Black children were violated."

The four legal tests described earlier in this chapter in the section on Homogeneous Ability Grouping were applied in all three cases, as evidenced by Casso's synthesis. The test of selectivity was paramount. The resultant court order and agreement in the *Diana* case incorporates remedies demanded to eliminate discrimination in selection for tracking into special education. The main points of the court order and agreement were the following (Center for Law and Education, p. 226):

"1. All children whose primary home language is other than English (e.g., Spanish, Chinese, etc.) from now on must be tested in both their primary language and in English.

"2. They may be tested only with tests or sections of tests that don't depend on such things as vocabulary, general information ('Who wrote *Romeo and Juliet*?'), and other similar unfair verbal questions.

"3. Mexican-American and Chinese children already in classes for mentally retarded must be retested in their primary language (unless they were previously tested in it) and must be reevaluated only as to their achievement on non-verbal tests or sections of tests.

"4. Each school district is to submit to the state in time for next school year a summary of retesting and reevaluation and a plan listing special supplemental individual training which will be provided to help each child back into regular school classes.

"5. State psychologists are to work on norming a new or revised IQ test to reflect Mexican-American culture. This test will be normed by giving it only to California Mexican-Americans so that in the future Mexican-American children tested will be judged only by how they compare to the performance of their peers, not the population as a whole.

"6. Any school district which has a significant disparity between

Table 38: Comparison of Educable Mentally Retarded Placements in California Schools by Ethnicity

	Mexican American		*Anglo*		*Black*		*Asian*	
	% of school pop.	*% in EMR*	*% of school pop.*	*% in EMR*	*% of school pop.*	*% in EMR*	*% of school pop.*	*% in EMR*
1969 (Oct.)	15.0	28.34	73.7	44.27	8.9	25.5	2.1	0.73
1970 (Aug.)	15.5	25.79	72.1	46.48	9.0	25.73	2.2	0.75
1973 (June)	17.2	23.00	69.5	49.95	9.7	25.00	3.0	0.68
1975 (June)	19.0	22.20	65.0	53.35	12.0	22.61	3.2	1.12
1977 (June)	20.8	22.44	63.5	49.54	10.1	25.43	3.5	1.17

Source: California State Department of Education, *Ethnic Survey of EMR Classes*.

the percentage of Mexican-American students in its regular classes and in its classes for the retarded must submit an explanation setting out the reasons for this disparity."

The result of the three California cases was startling. Major revisions in the California Education Code were forthcoming, which contributed significantly to organizational and programmatic changes mandated and partially financed by the state. Comprehensive policies and procedures were developed to implement these changes. As the result of mandated changes and mainstreaming, Mexican American overrepresentation of school-labeled and school-placed EMRs declined significantly from 1969 to 1977 (Table 36). Black overrepresentation also decreased, but not so significantly. The decline is attributable, at least in part, to the mandated elimination of language bias in screening.

The reduction of overrepresentation between 1969 and 1975 concerned California education officials. They argued that reassigning children from EMR classes to regular programs deprived these children of needed educational services. Although they undoubtedly recognized that ethnic overrepresentation was the result of inappropriate screening mechanisms, they were convinced that the majority of these children required the special help not normally received in regular classrooms. They contended that by reducing the number of Chicano and black children in EMR classes, the state "equalized poor educational service" for all groups. California State Department of Education officials commented: "Rather than serving the 2 percent or more of the

Table 37: California Enrollment Changes in Classes for Mentally Retarded

	Enrollment 1969	*Enrollment June 1974 (from survey)*	*Percentage of total ethnic group, 1974*
Spanish surname	15,657	7,295	0.95
Black	15,022	7,873	1.8
Anglo	23,947	16,315	0.5
Asian	326	350	0.26
Totals*	55,519	32,073	0.72

* Totals include small numbers of other ethnic groups not listed here.

Source: California State Department of Education, *Ethnic Survey of EMR Classes*, 1975.

Table 38: Special School Services Provided in Texas, 1974–75

	Anglo		*Black*		*Mexican American*		*Other*		*Total*	
	No.	*%**	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Visually handicapped	524	61.4	145	17.0	183	21.5	1	0.1	853	
Orthopedically handicapped and other health-impaired	7,144	63.5	2,058	18.3	2,020	18.0	21	0.2	11,243	
Minimally brain-injured	8,839	74.4	1,553	13.1	1,468	12.3	27	0.2	11,887	
Auditory-handicapped	1,608	58.4	463	16.8	674	24.5	9	0.3	2,754	
Educable mentally retarded (50–70 IQ)	13 931	34.8	14,931	37.3	11,139	27.8	74	0.2	40,075	
Trainable mentally retarded (50 IQ)	4,442	46.3	2,248	23.4	2,880	30.0	25	0.3	9,595	
Speech-handicapped	54,314	61.1	13,001	14.6	21,004	23.6	513	0.6	88,832	
Language learning-disabled	69,183	55.5	23,739	19.0	31,564	25.3	197	0.2	124,683	
Pregnant students	1,995	38.8	2,488	48.3	660	12.8	5	0.1	5,148	
Emotionally disturbed	6,848	68.6	1,853	18.6	1,269	12.7	19	0.2	9,989	
Total	168,828	55.3	62,479	20.5	72,861	23.9	891	0.3	305,059	100

* Percentage of all students enrolled in special service.

Source: Unpublished data submitted by Texas Education Agency in communication of Dec. 2. 1976. from Bettie Peinemann.

population who may need special help because of the limited intellectual development, we are presently serving less than three-fourths of 1 percent (0.72 percent) and are still declining. The emphasis on the ethnicity of the population served in [EMR] classes may have been blown far out of proportion, and certainly is not in the best interest of those pupils who need special help and who may also be from a minority group if they are retarded and not being served" (California State Department of Education 1975, pp. 4–5).

The 2 percent estimate of the mentally retarded population is conservative and is based on the conclusions of the President's Commission on Mental Retardation. This rationale suggests that 2 percent of *all* children should be receiving special services because of mental retardation. As Table 37 illustrates, only black children are approaching this level of needed services. Ethnic overrepresentation among [illegible] blacks illustrates, in this case, almost proportional services. The two-sides-of-the-coin argument contributed to the development and implementation of the California Master Plan for Special Education. This individualized treatment plan, using the resource teaching approach, is similar to the mainstreaming implemented in Texas.

Because no postmainstreaming statistics are available from California, information from Texas on the distribution of special services is of extreme interest (Table 38). The data, although reported in an unfamiliar format, may show the trends and patterns of ethnic representation to be expected under new school approaches. The Texas statistics on the education of exceptional children are perplexing, however. In ethnic EMR representation they are similar to the latest figures from California. Mexican American overrepresentation is down, but that of blacks remains more than double. In the "emotionally disturbed" and "minimally brain-injured" categories, which tend to be socially acceptable to the middle class, Mexican Americans are grossly underrepresented and Anglos are overrepresented. Perhaps the data should be analyzed within a framework of the category's social acceptability. Despite the unusual distributions shown in the Texas data, the social reality of how categories of children are labeled, educated, and perhaps stigmatized is not reflected in statistics. There are enough peculiarities in the Texas data to warrant in-depth analysis and on-site study.

Meaningful information on special-education categories and the representativeness of ethnic and racial groups is difficult to procure. New federal efforts will fill a void by requiring schools to submit ethnic breakdowns. The availability of such statistics will provide interested persons with a method to audit the situation.

The legal and educational movements in California and Texas have contributed to the long fight to end discrimination against the handicapped. Federal legislation was enacted in 1973 in the form of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act for the mentally and physically disabled, and in 1975 in the sweeping Education for All Children Act. With full implementation these acts will provide procedural due process guarantees as well as schooling in the least restrictive environment. This means some form of mainstreaming for most children with learning or other disabilities. It implies the end of discrimination and the nonrepresentativeness of ethnic groups because of selection or other bias. In-depth institutional analysis will continue to be essential to determine if labeling and stigmatizing are operative, if children are being deprived of equal educational opportunity. Mainstreaming appears to be a viable procedure; however, the real school world may be quite different in practice from that proposed. Segregation, isolation, and subordination can result from the best of intentions.

May 25 memorandum

Direct federal intervention to remedy some of the adverse effects of rigid ability grouping and curricular tracking came first in the form of a directive from HEW's Office for Civil Rights. As reported in our section on Special Education, this action contributed significantly to the movement to provide the so-called mentally retarded with more adequate guarantees of due process and equal protection. It had less influence in other areas of institutional racism; many of those battles are far from won. Another forceful stand by the federal government may be required.

Because the memorandum is an important document in the continuing efforts to end the history of educational neglect, it is reproduced here in its entirety.

MEMORANDUM May 25, 1970

To: School Districts With More Than Five Percent
National Origin–Minority Group Children

From: J. Stanley Pottinger
Director, Office for Civil Rights
Subject: Identification of Discrimination and Denial
of Services on the Basis of National Origin

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Departmental Regulation (45 CFR Part 80) promulgated thereunder, require that there be no discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in the operation of any federally assisted programs.

Title VI compliance reviews conducted in school districts with large Spanish-surnamed student populations by the Office for Civil Rights have revealed a number of common practices which have the effect of denying equality of educational opportunity to Spanish-surnamed pupils. Similar practices which have the effect of discrimination on the basis of national origin exist in other locations with respect to disadvantaged pupils from other national origin–minority groups, for example, Chinese or Portuguese.

The purpose of this memorandum is to clarify D/HEW policy on issues concerning the responsibility of school districts to provide equal educational opportunity to national origin–minority group children deficient in English language skills. The following are some of the major areas of concern that relate to compliance with Title VI:

1. Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin–minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.

2. School districts must not assign national origin–minority group students to classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria which essentially measure or evaluate English language skills; nor may school districts deny national origin–minority group children access to college preparatory courses on a basis directly related to the failure of the school system to inculcate English language skills.

3. Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin–minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational dead-end or permanent track.

4. School districts have the responsibility to adequately notify national origin–minority group parents of school activities which are called to the attention of other parents. Such notice in order to be adequate may have to be provided in a language other than English.

School districts should examine current practices which exist in their districts in order to assess compliance with the matters set forth in this memorandum. A school district which determines that compliance problems currently exist in that district should immediately communicate in writing with the Office for Civil Rights and indicate what steps are being taken to remedy the situation. Where compliance questions arise as to the sufficiency of programs designed to meet the language skill needs of national origin–minority group children already operating in a particular area, full information regarding such programs should be provided. In the area of special language assistance, the scope of the program and the process for identifying need and the extent to which the need is fulfilled should be set forth.

School districts which receive this memorandum will be contacted shortly regarding the availability of technical assistance and will be provided with any additional information that may be needed to assist districts in achieving compliance with the law and equal educational opportunity for all children. Effective as of this date the aforementioned areas of concern will be regarded by regional Office for Civil Rights personnel as a part of their compliance responsibilities.

Despite uneven and weak efforts to force districts to comply with the directives, the memorandum was and is influential. As a knowledgeable professor put it: ". . . the May 25 memorandum caused more heat than any other HEW directive."

CULTURAL EXCLUSION AND DISTORTION

Until recently the preponderance of schools practiced the exclusion of most things Mexican. The higher the percentage of Chicanos in a given school, the more rigidly their culture, or the culture they were assumed to have, was shut out. Cultural exclusion took many forms; by far the most obvious was the prohibition of the carrier itself: the Spanish language. Today it is rare to find flagrant exclusion of Mexicanness or the formal prohibition of Spanish. Several changes have taken place—some in response to judicial mandate or in fear of it, others in response to community pressure for cultural and linguistic inclusion. Yet, more subtle and covert cultural exclusion persists. Rarely does the Mexican culture in school reflect the real and viable Chicano life-style. Usually it reflects an idealization, an unreal picture of Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano history, traditions, and culture—often little more than what Carey McWilliams (1968) referred to as "fantasy heritage." Although Spanish may be accepted in school, the ideal form is usually encouraged; the vernacular of the barrio is discouraged. Today Spanish use in schools runs the gamut from the medium of instruction through toleration to outright prohibition. Mexican culture presented in school also varies from the extremely rare inclusion of the community life-style through fantasy heritage to outright omission.

Changes have been made in the last 10 years, some positive and some negative. Curricular rigidity continues and is probably increasing. Schools with large percentages of Chicanos tend to adhere most carefully to established curriculum guides, grade-level requirements, and cognitive or skill objectives. Few schools modify their curriculums to include elements relative to the lives, expectations, experiences, or values of Chicano children. In many barrio schools the intrinsically rewarding or self-motivating aspects of the curriculum are slighted—sometimes are almost totally lacking. Educators are caught between their desire to improve basic skills and the omnipresent demand to be accountable. In this trap they concentrate to an excessive degree on skill-building activities and overlook the enriching areas of the curriculums. Art, music, oral language activities, social studies, science, and other creatively stimulating activities are neglected. School tends to become arduous, boring, irrelevant, and, all too often, sterile.

Culturally traditional Mexican American children continue to present the school with a powerful challenge to Americanize them and acculturate them, and to do it as rapidly as possible. Most Southwestern educators still have the philosophy that all foreign and immigrant groups should be required to abandon their native languages and cultures, give up their cultural identity, and become absorbed into the dominant society. The corollary belief is widely held that the economically disadvantaged barrio dweller, the culturally transitional or activist Chicano can and should be brought into the middle-class mainstream through the actions of the school. Compensatory education is rooted in the assumption that the school can remodel the culturally different. Groups who resist are considered uncooperative, un-American, and perhaps potentially subversive. There is a general unwillingness to accept the idea that native-born Americans who want to speak Spanish, to retain values of their own culture, or to institute political or educational reform might be loyal Americans.

Unfortunately, the full force of the educational system was historically directed toward the eradication of both the Spanish language and the Spanish American and Mexican American cultures (see Knowlton 1965). To accomplish this, almost every vestige of Mexicanness was excluded from the school environment. Christian and Christian (1966, p. 304) said that the Mexican American had been thought to be "a thorn in the side of educators" and that the Spanish language and culture were "weeds to be uprooted so that English and 'our way of life' can flourish." To effect this uprooting, the school needed a strong authoritarian structure. Today the Mexican American is still a thorn in the side of the school, but perhaps for other reasons. Demands are imposed from outside forces. Educators cannot impose the rigid authority acceptable in the past because parents and the courts are watchful, and students are more aware and involved. Often the unfortunate result of these forces is a loss of control and leadership and increasing frustration on all sides. Instead of the authoritarian school climate of the past, there is frequently a lack of educational direction and a defeatist attitude.

The authoritarianism, rigidity, and exclusion of manifestations of Chicano culture were deemed necessary to encourage rapid acculturation. The school was considered the cultural innovator, carrying the American truths, values, norms, and language to the foreigners. Such an approach has failed and does fail. The school is rarely successful; in the attempt, much damage can be done. The gradual elimination of such conditions, however, has not resulted in their replacement with viable alternatives.

Authoritarianism versus defeatism

During the decades of educational neglect, Mexican schools were usually more traditional, rigid, and authoritarian than Anglo or mixed schools within the same district. Today, schools with high Chicano concentrations are distributed along a continuum from the authoritarianism common in the past to an extreme form of permissiveness (almost anarchy). Most barrio schools are clustered at both ends and are rarely in the middle. Texas schools in general are more authoritarian than those of California, in part perhaps because California has a less traditional attitude, its society is more open, and its educational philosophy is influenced by the progressives. In rural and socially closed communities the older, authoritarian barrio school is still found; the opposite is more often encountered in urban and socially open areas. But each community is different, and the school political climate in each varies.

The school political climate can partially be explained by the recognition that educators are insecure in their roles, their status ambiguous or poorly defined. There is a perilous equilibrium of authority in the political structure of educational institutions. In 1932 Waller said (pp. 10–11): "[the school] is a despotism threatened from within and exposed to regulation and interference from without. It is a despotism capable of being overturned in a moment, exposed to the instant loss of its stability and its prestige. . . . The authority of the school executives and the teachers is in unremitting danger from (1) students, (2) parents, (3) the school board, (4) each other . . . the members of these groups, since they threaten his authority, are to some extent the natural enemies of the person who represents and lives by authority." The previous authoritarianism was supported by the common belief among educators that it was essential. Culturally different students, especially adolescents, posed threats to authority not encountered with middle-class children. Their culture and language were unknown and thought to be inappropriate. It appeared that the larger the Mexican American percentage, the more necessary was the use of strong authority to control and convert the students. Conforming behavior was commonly ensured by rigid sanctions against any deviations from ideal middle-class norms. Secondary school students were less tractable and more of a challenge than young children; authoritarian structures were most evident in junior and senior high schools.

The dominant social group gave great autonomy to the administrators and teachers in barrio schools: No one interfered there. A decade has altered this; the school political equilibrium supported and expected by the dominant community is disappearing, often replaced by defeatism. Ten years of changes have thrown the perilous equilibrium of authority out of kilter. Federal and state agencies have interfered—mandating revisions very often undesired by staff. Experimentation has been demanded. Accountability is imposed, at least on paper, and is strongly resisted. Teachers are becoming managers: Plans, records, and testing are more important than teaching. Compensatory programs continue to be demanded; yet their value has not been demonstrated. The community power distribution is changing—those groups previously excluded are increasingly included. School community advisory groups are required. The civil rights and civil liberties thrust through the courts are generally unwanted intrusions. Chicano students have revolted, struck, boycotted, and confronted. Parents also have organized and forcefully acted. The school board is no longer the final arbitrator. All these elements have threatened the political authority of the administrator and the teacher. The outside world has intruded on the tenuous sovereignty of the educator. The elimination of the authoritarian political climate, however, has not resulted in the substitution of viable alternatives. Excessive permissiveness, school anarchy, and negative school social conditions fill the void. Outside influences to improve education have frequently brought about a school climate destructive of the very goals desired. No acceptable organizational plan, leadership style, curricular approach, or philosophy has supplanted the traditional authoritarianism. The old is disappearing—what is replacing it may be more educationally damaging to the poor. The positive has not superseded the negative.

No-Spanish rule

The Southwest has a long history of forbidding teaching in and speaking Spanish in school. Social scientists and critics made a strong case that this was inferred by Chicanos to be a derogation or negation of their language and culture. The prohibition of Spanish has almost entirely disappeared during the last 10 years because of pressure brought by the government, the courts, and the Chicano movement. Although outright prohibition is gone, the beliefs on which the practice was based have not been eliminated. No Southwestern state legally continues to demand English-only instruction or to prohibit Spanish on the school grounds; however, the speaking of Spanish, especially the local vernacular, is discouraged. With few exceptions the school curriculum is still carried in English. Only on-site study can determine the status of Spanish in local schools; whether it is encouraged rather than discouraged is a crucial issue today.

Many educators continue to believe that discouraging Spanish facilitates rapid learning of English and thus rapid acculturation. Arguments for the no-Spanish rule persist: (1) English is the national language and must be learned; the best way to teach it is to prohibit Spanish. (2) Bilingualism is mentally confusing. (3) The Spanish spoken in the Southwest is a substandard dialect. (4) Teachers don't understand Spanish. The last argument was prevalent, and some educators probably agree today. "I can't understand them" and "It's impolite to talk a foreign language in front of a person who doesn't speak it" were common statements and are still heard. Perhaps the truth is that speaking Spanish was an extreme threat to authority: Those in power didn't know what was being said. Were Chicanos being disrespectful and impudent, using foul language, urging their peers to riot and revolt? The enemy was employing an undecipherable code and thus was violating the established conventions of war (school regulations). Despite arguments pro or con, outside forces intervened, and the overt prohibition of Spanish has generally disappeared. Schools had to change their behavior; mandates from outside revised school policy. They did not automatically modify teacher beliefs or the culture of the school, but there is a growing acceptance of Spanish on school grounds and in class.

Schools no longer forbid the use of Spanish—instead, they promote English. Whether encouraging English is not discouraging Spanish depends on what actually happens in the school. In one totally Mexican American junior high school in Texas the teacher's manual directed: "Encourage the use of English. All teachers are expected to correct students using Spanish on school property." Observations and interviews in this school indicated that every effort was made to prohibit Spanish, but that it was almost impossible to do so. The Civil Rights Commission conducted the only known large-scale survey of the status of Spanish in Southwestern schools (Table 39). Their study was made in 1969 and therefore does not necessarily reflect the contemporary scene. As in other aspects of cultural exclusion, Texas was far more restrictive than other states. Remember, these data reflect the situation in 1969. Imagine the amount of "discouragement" in the five states before the civil rights and Chicano movements. Twenty years ago almost all Southwestern schools prohibited Spanish speaking on campus and certainly in the classroom.

Table 39: Percentage of Schools Discouraging Spanish, 1969

	Arizona	*California*	*Colorado*	*New Mexico*	*Texas*
On elementary school grounds	11.6	4.0	7.8	7.2	40.8
On secondary school grounds	11.8	1.8	10.7	0.5	34.4
In elementary school classrooms	30.4	13.5	14.6	29.9	66.4
In secondary school classrooms	29.4	18.2	46.6	32.1	66.7

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 3, p. 16.

Table 40: Percentage of Schools Discouraging Spanish in Classrooms

Mexican American percentage of enrollment	*Socioeconomic status*			
	High	*Medium*	*Low*	*Total*
0–24	15.2	30.6	31.2	24.5
25–49	27.3	36.4	45.2	37.2
50–74	41.7	41.4	50.0	45.3
75–100	25.0	34.9	53.1	46.6

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 3, p. 15.

More important than the quantity of discouragement is its relationship to Mexican American density and socioeconomic class (Table 40). As expected, the larger and poorer the Mexican American population in schools, the more the use of Spanish was discouraged. The high-ethnic-density, low-socioeconomic schools served the traditional, Spanish-speaking community. For example, 70 percent of Mexican American first graders attending high-concentration, low-socioeconomic schools did not speak English so well as Anglo first graders (Civil Rights Study, Report 3, p. 14). Educators as late as 1969 discouraged Spanish in those schools where there was the most need to encourage language development. The weight of the no-Spanish rule fell most heavily on those who spoke it most and English least. The percentage of schools that discourage Spanish is now smaller, but it may be that correct Spanish is encouraged, while the local vernacular is discouraged.

Table 41: Methods to Discourage Spanish Speaking

Methods of correction	*Percentage of schools*
Suggesting that staff correct those who speak Spanish	48
Requiring staff to correct those who speak Spanish	12
Encouraging English	10
Advising students of advantages of speaking English	9
Encouraging other students to correct Spanish speakers	7
Punishing persistent Spanish speakers	3
Miscellaneous means of correction	11

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 3, p. 18.

In the past there were many examples of punishment for students who spoke Spanish, ranging from fines to suspension. The Civil Rights Study reported methods used by schools to prevent the use of Spanish (Table 41). An almost wholly Mexican American district that actively prohibited Spanish in the mid-sixties changed its policy only when it received a substantial private grant to experiment with bilingual instruction.

Punishments involving a variety of penalties were reported. Spanish detention was common in many schools before 1970—it probably still exists somewhere in the Southwest. At one Texas secondary school, students caught speaking Spanish were punished; if they persisted, they were suspended and ultimately expelled. This school was approximately 100 percent Mexican American and served a poverty area. Commenting on this, a local university professor said: "They have what they call Spanish detention and if the child is caught speaking Spanish, he is usually held after school for an hour, an hour and a half. If he persists, he may be spanked by the principal." In another Texas city strong sanctions were imposed by a Mexican American high school principal on his 99 percent Chicano student body. Similar situations in Texas were vividly described under oath at the hearing of the United States Commission on Civil Rights in San Antonio in 1968 (Civil Rights Study, Report 3, pp. 18–19):

"If we speak Spanish we had to pay 5 cents to the teacher or we had to stay after school.

"In the first through the fourth grade, if the teacher caught us talking Spanish we would have to stand on the 'black square' for an hour or so.

"When I was in elementary they had a rule not to speak Spanish but we all did. If you got caught speaking Spanish you were to write three pages saying, 'I must not speak Spanish in school.'

"In the sixth grade, they kept a record if we spoke Spanish. They would take it down and charge us a penny for every Spanish word. If we spoke more than one thousand words our parents would have to come to school and talk with the principal.

"If you'd been caught speaking Spanish you would be sent to the principal's office or given extra assignments to do as homework or probably made to stand by the wall during recess and after school."

The no-Spanish rule was the most obvious symptom of the cultural exclusion syndrome. As with other aspects, such overt and obvious discrimination is disappearing. What remains is more subtle.

Informal curriculum

With few exceptions the schools studied in the past restrained manifestations of the home culture. Strongest sanctions against Mexicanness were encountered in schools serving the unacculturated and the poor. In attempting to convert Mexican Americans to the American way of life, educators developed policies, practices, and interaction modes that in the aggregate shaped an informal curriculum reflecting a perfect version of middle-class culture. The more culturally different the Chicano population of a given school, the more idealized was the informal curriculum. Because there are few middle-class students in barrio schools, the real culture of the dominant group does not enter the school via this normal channel. The social climate, highly influenced by the informal curriculum, was often charged with an unreal, super-middle-class culture. Conflict induced by such a climate encouraged discipline problems and pushouts. Children were expected to learn and practice a school culture distinct from the culture learned and practiced in the home and barrio. Over the past decade changes have taken place. The formal curriculum now includes smatterings of an idealized Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano cultural tradition; the informal curriculum continues to reflect a desire to inculcate middle-class values and behaviors. Because of their loss of prestige and authority, few educators can enforce the rigid behavior standards of the past.

Behavioral demands of the home and school cultures are not compatible. Caught between two sets of norms, many children react negatively. In the past educators demanded that children accept the school's idea of how the middle class should behave. To stay in the school, children were required to drop their home culture, at least outwardly, and manifest the ideal behavioral characteristics demanded by the institution. Many could not do this and fled the hostile school environment, removing themselves mentally in the elementary school years and physically as soon as local law or practice permitted.

Today the culture conflict that affects Chicanos in school is more subtle. Every society teaches children what kind of men or women they are expected to become. The male role learned by Chicano boys may be diametrically opposed to the behavior demanded by the middle-class-oriented school. Formerly most secondary schools had stringent dress regulations, and boys were suspended for violating the code. Rubel (1966), in his study of a community in southern Texas, described the rigid dress behavior required in the local junior high school. An administrator stated that each Mexican American child was screened before he was permitted to enroll, and "if he wants to stay, he has to get a good haircut, cut off the sideburns." Such infringements on personal rights are rarely encountered today. Historically, rigid codes were enforced in most Southwestern schools. In one California junior high the vice principal cut a seventh grader's long black locks: "Shame-faced and almost in tears, Mexican-born John Garcia took his seat in class. His head was bald in spots. He tried to hide the black tufts of hair that stuck out all over. There was an awkward silence. Garcia's humiliation was to serve as a warning to the other boys. Haircutting never works [John's English teacher commented later]. All this does is force them out of school; they've had this kind of treatment since the first grade. Why should they want to stay in?" (Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 1966, pp. 18–19). The teacher pointed out that Anglo children were never given such treatment.

Mexican American children were regularly suspended, and ultimately excluded, for non-American physical appearance. A school social worker in Texas interviewed for the first study said: "One of the biggest problems that I have in my job is to go and ask a father to tell his son to cut his hair in an Angloized way, with the short sideburns and no bush on top, and the father is wearing his hair exactly like the son. About the only thing you can tell him is that, 'Look, we don't like this at school because children don't dress like that and we don't want the children to look like adults.' This is really stepping on eggshells." The implications of conflict are obvious. The school demanded a conformity that violated what some Chicano boys accept as manliness. Two sets of social role expectations resulted in severe conflict in the student's mind. Ten years ago dress codes were rigorously enforced in lower-social-class schools; the brunt of this practice fell on those most prone to adhere to divergent dress or grooming. The general abolition of dress codes has modified this, and few administrators today would knowingly tamper with the tenuous equilibrium of a secondary school by demanding conformity to rigid codes. The grooming standards of the community served have generally become acceptable.

Psychologists say that a child's name is perhaps the first touchstone of self-identity. Yet schools continue to change the Spanish given names of children as they enter. Many parents want to use English names, but others see nothing improper about the Spanish names conferred at baptism. Teachers apparently do. *Jesús* is almost invariably changed to Jesse. *María* becomes Mary, *Juan* John, *Roberto* Bobby. Although it may seem unimportant, the Angloization of Spanish names may do psychic harm. Such practices reflect the way the school sees the Mexican American child and are part of the syndrome of culture conflicts encouraged by the school in its attempts to obliterate Mexican identity. A question concerning Anglo perception of Mexican culture must be raised. If a little French boy named *Pierre* entered a Southwestern school, would teachers change his name to Peter? Probably not. Why? Perhaps the French are viewed as a more cultured people. Mexican Americans are not considered cultured and must be transmuted as soon as possible into full-fledged Americans.

Conflict is also induced by the school's efforts to modify culturally determined food preferences. A Texas school principal, complaining about the children's refusal to eat vegetables, commented that beans and carrots seemed to be the only vegetables they would eat. In the same school children were denied access to hot pepper sauces; only the teachers' table had such condiments. "We don't serve children such highly seasoned food because it's bad for the digestion," said the principal, who didn't recognize that "bad for digestion" is culturally determined. The central cafeteria of a large district that is about 85 percent Mexican American served half an avocado and a carton of milk on the same lunch. In this area many believe that these two foods eaten together cause *empacho* ("digestive upset"). Understandably, many children left one or the other item. The consternation over the waste can be imagined. An Anglo home economics teacher was observed in a junior high school as she explained a well-balanced dinner to a group of Mexican American girls. The children were puzzled that the menu included both hot and cold foods, a practice they had learned was guaranteed to produce *empacho*. When the girls questioned the teacher, the answer was, "I never heard such superstitious nonsense." This teacher, as well as others observed, seemed totally unaware of the influence of culture on eating habits.

Less obvious conflicts are often encountered. Modesty, of a very special nature, is taught in some culturally traditional families. Girls learn not to expose their bodies. Medical examination by male doctors is abhorred, as is nudity in front of other women. Group showering is required in most secondary school physical education classes. To force a girl who has been taught this kind of modesty to disrobe and shower in the presence of others is a direct affront to strongly ingrained beliefs. Girls have been reported to form circles around their disrobing peers and use other ruses to protect their culturally defined sense of modesty. In this case the Anglo core value of cleanliness has been institutionalized and confronts traditional Mexican modesty.

Ramirez and Taylor conducted research on the relation between identification with traditional Mexican American culture and student success in northern California junior and senior high schools. Ramirez (1967b) contended that for some Mexican Americans negative feelings toward school and poor achievement in school are attributable to culture conflict. Although he found that not all Mexican Americans hold traditional cultural orientations, Ramirez demonstrated that culture conflict was apparent in some students. For them the traditional culture ". . . teaches the adolescent to be loyal to his family group. This frequently results in subordination of the student's educational goals when the family is in need of help." Ramirez concluded that traditional Mexican American students bring ". . . values with [them] to the school which in many cases are in direct opposition to those of their teachers, counselors, and principals. Not only must the bicultural student face conflicts at school; he also meets conflicts in the home when the values he learns at school are opposed by parents. He is thus continually faced with the ominous choice of conforming or quitting. This usually results in feelings of insecurity and eventually in negative feelings toward the school which he comes to see as the source of his frustration and ambivalence."

The ethnic peer group is also influential. It provides sanctuary and protection in school, establishes acceptable and unacceptable behavior, ameliorates anxieties, defines male and female roles, and prescribes acceptable academic success and school participation. Robles studied a California junior high school that draws its Mexican American students from a barrio elementary school. He determined that the ethnic peer group affects the upwardly mobile Mexican American student's school behavior. As a result of strong peer allegiance, there is "a noticeable lack of participation, avoidance and lack of interaction with the total student life of the schools. . . . this behavior stems from . . . peer group pressures because most of the mobility oriented students show a higher aspirational level [and more interaction] when the peer group is not present" (1964, pp. 66-67). The ethnic peer group often sets low social aspirations and thus adversely affects grades and achievement. In his report Robles pointed out that conscientious school personnel can modify such effects if they understand the total social function of the ethnic peer group.

Attitudes toward ethnic peer groups vary in the Southwest. Most educators interviewed saw such groups as negative and detrimental to the school and the individuals involved. In most cases the educators considered their own roles to be suppressive, and strong regulations against outward signs of membership in these groups are exercised. In some secondary institutions there is warfare between ethnic peer groups and school staff. Many efforts are made to destroy, rearrange, or modify the groups, which are often believed to be delinquent or involved in antisocial behavior. Little comprehension of the crucial role such groups play in the lives of culturally marginal adolescents was demonstrated by the educators interviewed. Although understanding of the social and psychological functions of the ethnic peer group has not increased, we do find that administrators and teachers seem more willing to live and let live. Today's permissive barrio schools are more the result of not caring or not daring than of educators' recognition of the positive effects of ethnic peer groups.

As in other areas of behavior, the peer group may be seen as a threat to stability and the authoritarian structure of the school. The more divergent the group's behavior, the greater the perceived threat. The middle-class peer group, although not totally acceptable to school management, is not so threatening as the ethnic peer group characteristic of urban slums. "The big difference between the situation of slum and suburb is not the literacy of the parents, but the meshing of values of parents and teachers. By providing an understanding support of their children in school, parents reduce the necessity of the child to rely so heavily on his peers in his struggle with educational authority" (Wax, Wax, and Dumont 1964, p. 97). The values of many Mexican Americans do not mesh with those of the school, and poor parents do not often supply the essential support.

The roles, values, and language learned from the ethnic peer society, like those learned in the home, are sometimes prohibited and are regularly discouraged in the school. Peer culture is often diametrically opposed to the middle-class expectations of teachers and administrators. Again, conflict results: What is meaningful to the child is discouraged by the institution. Some schools attempt individual counseling to save the better youngsters from their peers. This endeavor, usually a you-know-what-is-right-and-good-for-you appeal by the counseling staff, fails to recognize the tremendous social and psychological pressure on the child. Schools that forbid external manifestations of peer-group membership can create an intolerable situation for some adolescents. Instead of treating such manifestations of cultural and age-group marginality as normal and useful, schools often react negatively and thus deny or contradict what the child is doing to find a place in society and a self-identity.

Educators who see the peer-group influence as normal, understandable, and useful can use the group itself as a tool to raise achievement and increase positive school participation. Nondirective counseling techniques can reorient the groups without destroying their social integrity. These techniques can have a lasting and positive effect.

Ten years ago it was generally true that the lower the social class of the students, the more strictly the children were expected to conform to the educators' image of the perfect middle-class Anglo teenagers. The predominantly Mexican American secondary schools observed in Texas were inflexible in their prohibition of all but perfect (idealized middle-class) behavior. California schools were less rigid. Yet, in all states visited, minority and mixed lower-class schools were more restrictive than middle-class institutions. Many Texas barrio schools were ultraconformist and operated by the book. Classroom discipline was firm, children spoke when spoken to, halls and playgrounds were patrolled and controlled, gum chewing led to suspension, dress codes were strictly enforced, hair was short, dresses were long. The Mexican American teenagers who could not or would not conform were pushed out early in their junior or senior high school careers. The rest of the children appeared to be ideal middle-class teenagers. Unfortunately, behavioral standards and the conflict such standards engender drive many traditional, transitional, or low-status Mexican Americans from school. Today such overt prohibitions and rigid conditions are uncommon; in some schools they have almost disappeared. But less obvious controls persist and contribute to the poor school holding power characteristic of barrio schools.

Formal curriculum

The three components of the formal curriculum—content, method, and sequence—are drawn from the culture carried by a society. The content comes from the history, knowledge, skills, values, expectations, language, roles, and laws of the parent generations. Teaching methods reflect how members of a given society commonly teach their children as well as how they socialize their children to learn. Sequence is determined by analyses of the stages of development or ages at which the children of a society are exposed to and internalize certain cultural items.

American school curriculum is formulated almost entirely from the culture of the dominant elements of society. Usually somewhat dated, even for middle-class children, the curriculum approximates the ideal American culture the school wishes to inculcate. As discussed in Chapter 2, curriculum is the school's version of the culture children are expected to learn and reproduce; culture is the only source of the school curriculum. In relatively homogeneous and static cultures the curriculum supplements and augments the ongoing enculturation provided by parents, peers, and community. When the school deals with culturally diverse groups (cross-cultural schooling), the curriculum can be drawn either from the culture of the dominant society or from that of the learner's subsociety. In bicultural schools the curriculum is based on both cultures.

When the standard American formal curriculum is used with culturally divergent children, severe reactions should be anticipated. What may be relevant to the "normal" or "standard" child may be irrelevant to the culturally different child. In extreme cases what is taught the normal child is directly contrary to what is being learned by the different child. Many educators believe that the failure of the school's formal and informal curriculums to reflect and supplement the "home curriculum" is responsible for Mexican American failure in school.

If the formal curriculum approximates the culture taught in home and community, there is no problem. Children tend to learn what they are taught. When the school attempts to instill a culture different from that of its students, real and grievous problems develop (Burger 1968). Culturally and linguistically different children rarely incorporate or practice the culture the school carries in its formal and informal curriculums. Seeing little need for the items taught, seeing them as irrelevant or in conflict with home enculturation, the foreign learner profits little from the experience and often rejects the school, the culture it teaches, and the society it represents.

During the sixties students confronted the educational establishment with a demand for curricular "relevance." Although the concept was not adequately defined, few educators failed to appreciate the urgency of the demand. The continuum between so-called relevance and irrelevance must be recognized to understand schooling across cultures. The curriculum is on the side of learner relevance if—

1. The content is similar to or highly related to the knowledge, skills, or values being acquired through nonschool socialization;

2. The methods of instruction correspond to the cultural group's acceptable teacher-learner (usually parent-child) behavior; and

3. The information is introduced in sequence with similar items outside the school.

The curriculum is irrelevant when these conditions are not met. The less relevant the course of study, the more the teacher must rely on extrinsic or symbolic rewards to stimulate and maintain learning. There is conflict when the learner believes that what is being taught and how and when it is presented contradict nonschool socialization.

Lack of connection between the real world and the school was recognized as a problem as early as 1941. "Such subject matter as geography, history, and health, is taught in terms that are foreign to the [Spanish Americans]. During the school year of 1939–40, the pupils of El Cerrito [a small rural New Mexico community] worked on posters and other projects based on such subjects as transportation in Boston and importance of navigation in the growth of Chicago. Under such a curriculum as this, it is small wonder that pupil interest is at a minimum and that progress is slow" (Leonard and Loomis 1941, p. 53). Critics continue the theme, contending that poor children lack interest in school because they see no link between what they learn in school and what they live at home. Elementary school readers contain stories about families of different color and culture: Fathers go to the office and children return to beautiful homes. The publication of new texts and primers is only a superficial remedy for culture conflict. The curriculum of the school is not substantially modified by the use of paint-their-faces-brown textbooks. To incorporate germane and non conflicting items from the home culture may be impossible for the average school system. Many educators would see the integration of culture they consider negative or foreign as supportive of the very life-styles they are dedicated to improve or eradicate. The reality of barrio culture would be equally distasteful to many Mexican American teachers.

The content of the curriculum is permeated with the assumed ideals, not necessarily the mores, of middle-class culture. Chicanos are expected to learn extreme cleanliness, respect for the law, and unfamiliar manners and morals to gain a grade or teacher approval. Perhaps what is learned will soon be forgotten; however, conflicts can be created. For example, a Head Start teacher interviewed for the first study was appalled by the barrio students' lack of respect for the police. To overcome this, a large, blue Policeman Sam was constructed of cardboard. The children were drilled on how Sam helped them, protected them, and befriended the family. The children seemed eager to please the pleasant teacher and were rewarded for their recitations by her acceptance and praise. Policemen may be seen in a totally different way at home, and a child might be severely punished for what has been learned in school. Mexican American children are taught the nursery rhymes used with middle-class children; the maxims of Anglo middle-class culture are drilled. Many of these are probably irrelevant; some may conflict with home learning.

Mexican American as well as Anglo educators teach cleanliness to minority-group children by explaining the reason for it (to wash away germs), by having them constantly wash their hands, by drilling them in brushing teeth, and by having them memorize maxims that reinforce cleanliness. ("Clean" is translated into *limpio*, with little understanding that *limpio* does not carry the same cultural meaning. *Limpio* means clean in the scrubbed way, and "clean" incorporates moral connotations.) No stone is left unturned to ensure the Americanization of Mexican American children in this regard. One elementary school teacher interviewed for the first study advocated the forceful bathing of "dirty Mexican kids because it will teach them how nice it feels to be clean," a doubtful result.

How the constructors of the formal curriculum perceive the culture they are charged to describe is crucial. The culture can be presented realistically or idealistically. The values and biases of the designers influence the content of the formal course of study. They can incorporate the totality – the diversity, alienation, and conflict that characterize America. Or they can exclude from the formal curriculum those components defined as bad or inappropriate, thus presenting an unreal and idealized picture – a homogeneous, static, patriotic, tolerant, and ethical tradition (Anti-Defamation League 1961). This can reach the lamentable extreme of what Henry (1968) referred to as "legitimate social stupidity." There are many influences. Textbook sales are partially determined by regional ethnocentricity. The textbook writer (a curriculum constructor) may be forced to distort reality to sell the product. Few Texans, for example, would permit an objective portrayal of the Alamo. Those who attempt to present historical reality may be confronted by sales resistance and perhaps open hostility. Witness the furor over the relatively objective eighth-grade American history book titled *The Land of the Free* (Franklin et al. 1965). Although lack of objectivity is particularly characteristic of social studies content, it is true also in the natural sciences. This is exemplified by the persistent disputes over the inclusion of Darwin's theories of evolution, a significant segment of our culture's knowledge. In general, the formal curricular content is little more than a highly idealized portrayal of what the more conservative social elements would like American history, society, and language to be.

It is equally possible, and common, to idealize Hispanic, Mexican, and Chicano culture. Although such idealization is understandable, it is also understandable that such a fantasy heritage presented by the curriculum can be meaningless. A bicultural curriculum may be irrelevant to both groups of children. One teacher commented: "We bored them to death with Shakespeare in English, now we're doing the same with Cervantes in Spanish." A first-grade teacher put it this way: "Learning Mexican national heroes is just about as meaningful to Chicanos as learning America's great men – both are irrelevant."

Persons responsible for curricular content tend to convert reality into their version of what it should be. This is as true of the Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano tradition as it is of the Anglo-American. Bias affects much of the formal content, reflecting the perceptions of authors, school districts, or teachers. For our purposes cultural content may be divided into two categories: (1) the historical Spanish-Mexican reality in the United States, especially in the Southwest; and (2) the contemporary social and cultural reality of the Mexican American group in all its diversity. The past and the present, as reflected in curricular materials, must each be analyzed along a continuum between poles. For example, the Spanish-Mexican reality depicted in American history must be placed somewhere between total omission and total inclusion. Position on the continuum would vary according to the period and the section of the country under study. Somewhere along the line there is an appropriate quantity of treatment.

But what of quality? Like quantity, it can be described as falling along a continuum between descriptors. This sequence juxtaposes ideal and real, with many subcategories that include Anglo bias and Chicano bias. Both distort by emphasizing certain aspects of the historical or contemporary reality. There is a fantasy heritage appropriate to both biases – in many ways it could be similar. Both groups might teach a romanticized heritage of *fiestas*, gay *señoritas*, *caballeros*, contented *indios*, *peóns*, and paternalistic *patrónes* – the universally popular myth of the early Southwest. Another kind of bias involves heroes. Rarely are real people – common people carrying on the ordinary obligations of living – described. More often, political, military, and religious leaders are presented. If Anglo bias is operating, Mexican heroes stressed are most likely those friendly to the United States or those similar to our own equally idealized heroes. (Lincoln and Juárez are good examples.) The inverse would probably be true if Chicano bias is operating. The contributions bias is similar. Instead of choosing famous people, the teacher or other curriculum planner selects well-known cultural contributions – the horse, architectural wonders, cowboy culture, missions, *tortillas* or other food items. Usually the selections are part of the material culture; Spanish-Mexican law, political forms, or other nonmaterial aspects are seldom included. The omnipresent costumes, holidays, dances, and music can be considered a contemporary version of the fantasy heritage.

Table 42: Percentage of Schools Providing Spanish American Unit in Social Studies Classes

	Elementary	*Secondary*
Arizona	40.6	17.6
California	53.9	64.5
Colorado	36.3	35.7
New Mexico	47.4	46.7
Texas	36.0	36.7
Southwest	46.5	47.6

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 3, p. 32.

During the last decade special efforts were made to improve texts and materials for increased coverage of Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano history and culture. The Civil Rights Study asked: "Does your school provide for special units in Mexican, Spanish American, or Hispanic history in social studies classes?" Table 42 reports their 1969 findings. Less than half the schools in the Southwest had a special unit. Remember, these were schools with at least 10 percent Mexican American enrollment. The length and quality of the units are not considered. The commission further found that only 7.3 percent of the secondary schools offered Mexican American history classes, and 5.8 percent offered Mexican history (Report 3, p. 33). Less than 1 percent of

Southwestern Chicano secondary students were enrolled in these classes. Today the percentage is probably greater because more Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano culture is included in contemporary social studies classes. It is thought that special Mexican and Chicano history classes reached a peak about 1973, declined, and are now on a plateau.

Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) argued convincingly that culture conflict is apparent in the school's methods. Learning styles of many Mexican Americans and middle-class Anglos differ, as discussed in Chapter 3. The child's cognitive style is the result of the socialization within a cultural group. Chicano homes and communities teach their children to be "field-sensitive"; the school in turn is geared to children with middle-class, "field-independent" learning styles. According to these two psychologists, incompatibility between learning and teaching styles results in lowered academic achievement for many Mexican American children. They advocate bicognitive curriculums and methods, thus eliminating irrelevance and conflict and capitalizing on learning style strengths of both ethnic groups.

Comparisons can be made between disadvantaged, predominantly minority schools and more advantaged Anglo or mixed schools. In general, the lower the social class and the higher the ethnic density in the school, the more rigidly teachers adhere to state and local curriculum guides and texts. Difference is equally apparent between high- and low-ability tracks within the same school. Instruction techniques in lower track levels are more bookish, less oral, more rote and dogmatic. If the social class of the school is high, the approach is progressive (or at least more acceptable in contemporary educational practice). The learning environment of many predominantly Chicano schools, classes, and tracks can be characterized as dull and uninspiring. Irrelevance, with its concomitant reliance on extrinsic reward, characterizes such classes and schools.

Inflexible school practices and curricular irrelevance are interrelated and are detrimental to Mexican American children. Ungraded, or multilevel, primary grades were a popular solution to grade-level rigidity. To determine if these reorganizations significantly modified the schools, it was necessary to analyze each arrangement. For example, if nine levels with rigid requirements were substituted for the previous three grades, it is doubtful that any substantial change was made. Similarly, little was accomplished if self-paced instruction still depended on certain levels of proficiency for promotion or movement. If, however, there were flexible requirements for the levels, there may have been real change. A Texas superintendent interviewed 10 years ago said that his newly instituted ungraded primary system was, in essence, a subterfuge. He said that it was essentially a tracking device; one of its advantages was that parents did not attach as much stigma to their children's repeating a level, or remaining there longer than normal, as they did to their failing a grade and being retained.

Today less is said about ungraded primaries. Individualized instruction is the contemporary solution. Whether in reality each child is treated as an individual or is merely grouped on the basis of more information remains to be seen. Individualized instruction often means that teaching is more by rote and is programmed; that it is less creative, social, and self-motivating. Each situation is distinct: Individualized instruction is no more a panacea than other arrangements. Such modifications do not effect substantial changes in the content, method, or sequence of the curriculum.

Adherence to grade-level requirements or to preset performance objectives contributes to the narrow curriculum content in many disadvantaged classrooms. If certain first-grade texts must be read, a supreme effort is made to get each child to complete the task. The basic skills of reading and arithmetic are emphasized; the time for other activities is reduced. If a certain number of concepts must be learned, memorization methods are often resorted to almost exclusively. If an average child has to know a given number of words to be promoted to second grade, teachers tend to emphasize only those words. The long-established practices of inflexible grade-level requirements and the newer idea of preset performance objectives contribute to curriculum rigidity and rote methods, and cause many Mexican American children to repeat grades. If it is deemed essential to devote maximum time and effort to teaching basic skills on which grade level and promotion are based, little time remains for teaching anything else that might be meaningful, relevant, and intrinsically rewarding. The intrinsic reward and personal satisfaction gained from relevant learning experiences found in high-ability or middle-class classrooms are usually lacking in lower tracks and barrio schools. Rarely is the curriculum self-motivating for Mexican Americans, whose classes consist almost exclusively of recitation of facts, truths, values. Inadvertently the good intentions of educators to improve basic skills often result in sterile classrooms.

With the unwanted intrusion of outside forces, the traditional authoritarian role of the educator is disappearing, leaving a void that has rarely been filled. Many classes seem devoid of order and direction. In the last decade a new genre of educational techniques has permeated the market. Most are slick, well-packaged, self-pacing individualized kits that stress basic skill development. They often supplement or replace more common materials. Although new hard- and software is commonly found in the barrio classrooms, little real curricular change is observed. Gimmicks from the educational industrial complex are replacing older approaches. A number of creative, rich, spontaneous, and exciting schoolrooms were observed, however. Sometimes entire schools seemed imbued with a positive orientation, demonstrating that the traditional authoritarianism and curricular rigidity can be replaced by a new open and dynamic social climate.

In general, learning experiences in school may be out of sequence for poor, minority-group children. Unfortunately, the curriculum sequence is based on analysis of middle-class children. Chicanos may be learning cultural items in their home community at a different period in their lives. It may be true that middle-class children, as a group, are ready to read English at age six but Spanish speakers are not; it may be true that many low-status children are ready to learn the decimal and money systems at age five but middle-class children are not ready until later. Yet sequence is seldom substantially modified for culturally different learners. When the content is out of order for a group, the school inadvertently reduces the relevance of the experience; the learning is unnatural and depends on the extrinsic rewards. The child learns for school—not for real life or because the learning itself has value or meaning.

Few educators interviewed are aware of the ramifications of curricular bias and conflict, although many recognize, for example, that the American history taught in school may differ from the history of Mexico and the Southwest taught at home. Thoughtful analysis is infrequent. The failure of most educators to recognize the effect of irrelevant studies causes a tremendous loss of time and energy and leads to frustration. Educators see children who don't learn what is taught as unmotivated. It is not lack of motivation to learn; it is lack of connection between home and school cultures and curriculums. Children want to learn – they don't necessarily want to learn what the school teaches. As the curriculum moves toward irrelevance and conflict, self-motivation and interest diminish. Schools must then increasingly rely on extrinsic rewards such as grades, gold stars, token economies, promise of future success, or whatever else can be offered to stimulate or sustain school learning.

PERCEPTIONS, FACILITIES, AND EFFORT

Schools of the Southwest are similar to those of other regions. Superficially, staffs, curriculums, administrations, financial structures, and physical plants are remarkably uniform despite the lack of a centralized national administration. In-depth study, however, reveals substantial differences. Differences among schools within the same district are as great as those among districts and states. A decade ago little hard evidence described the subtle variations; today more information is available. Although existing studies are inconclusive, they suggest pertinent questions. This section discusses differences and inequality revealed in educator attitudes, perceptions, and behavior; physical facilities; and community educational concern. Are the same quantity and quality of effort expended on Chicano students as on other groups within Southwestern schools? The conclusion is that they are not.

Teacher views and behavior

Teachers are not unlike other citizens; they see the school's role to be one of encouraging the poor and the foreign to become full-fledged productive Americans. They genuinely want to help Mexican Americans, but they don't necessarily like or accept them as they are. Friedenberg explained (1967, pp. 194–195): "It is frustrating to deal with these children who ignore, reject, or misinterpret the school's effort to transform them, who find its offerings meaningless, and are unmoved or annoyed by the arguments it offers on its own behalf; who cheerfully shrug off its pretentions." The so-called culturally deprived may be openly hostile to the school and what it teaches. Many reject the best efforts of the institution by removing themselves mentally in the intermediate grades and physically at the earliest possible moment.

Such rejection encourages teacher frustration and often covert dislike. Teachers, being human, tend to blame the student for not learning what they teach. Either abnormal personality characteristics of the individual student or the equally strange cultural characteristics of the group are thought to discourage internalization of the skills, content, and social norms taught. Some teachers see the child's rejection of the school as their own personal failure: They have not reached the child. This sense of failure has intensified since the advent of federally funded categorical programs. Not one of the new programs, new techniques, or new materials has resulted in the promised success. Nor has additional staff helped. On the one hand the children are seen to reject the school because of their home culture or personality, both difficult to modify. On the other hand the teachers see themselves as failing, which is particularly damning because they feel they have conscientiously tried everything. The frustrations inherent in the attempt to teach children from another cultural group to modify values, modes of life, and language are easily translated into contempt. Poverty and foreignness are acceptable as long as they go away. It is exceedingly difficult for many teachers to understand, accept, or treat as social equals the natives who reject the sincere efforts of the missionaries.

Most views of the Mexican American encourage teacher pessimism. The failure-of-the-culture idea is widely accepted. Few educators are able to grasp the full implication of the influence of the home culture on children's personality and school performance; as discussed earlier, most use the idea of cultural deficiency to rationalize the school's failure. Another, less common perception is that children are alike, despite their cultural backgrounds, and that school is equally meaningful to all. Many educators who hold this view have had little experience with diverse ethnic or poverty groups, nor has their professional preparation provided insight. Ulibarri questioned teachers in New Mexico about their awareness of, and sensitivity to, cultural differences (1959, pp. 103–105). He found that teachers generally showed little awareness of the differences among Spanish American, American Indian, and Anglo cultures or of the influence each has on children. Most teachers believed that school was equally significant and meaningful to children of all three groups. To what degree a repetition of Ulibarri's study would reach the same conclusion is unknown. Many teachers interviewed a decade ago demonstrated no real understanding of the influence of culture on personality and behavior. Most teachers interviewed for this book differentiate among children and have at least a superficial knowledge of Chicano culture and the personality orientations it is assumed to produce. Their understanding, however, is usually shallow and relies on stereotyped terms and beliefs.

Other points of view discourage teachers' efforts and optimism. A few instructors have what might be called the happy-slave perspective: The school should not attempt to modify Mexican Americans substantially because they are perfectly content with their way of life and their low socioeconomic status; the social distance between Anglos and the minority group is the natural order and should be maintained. Teachers who believe this don't dislike "Mexicans"—they "understand" them and their childlike ways and feel that outside interference disrupts the natural order inherent in their castelike society. This orientation is most commonly encountered in rural areas and socially closed environments. As one Texas school counselor interviewed a decade ago said: "Only a few days ago a teacher told me that these Mexican American children don't know their place: 'Why they are just the rowdiest people I've ever seen—they don't act typically Mexican. Since you got all those federal programs and all these aides, why they think they own this school.' "

According to the happy-slave view, the school is a service to the Mexican American and the Anglo alike. The rudimentary literacy acquired by average Mexican Americans is essential to their position as efficient workers. The extreme form of this belief is blatant prejudice; the happy-go-lucky idea is replaced by strong convictions of racial or cultural inferiority. This brand of prejudice is uncommon, but it is encountered in areas strongly influenced by the Southern ethos.

Neither the belief in cultural deficiency nor the happy-slave explanation encourages equal-status interaction between the groups; both engender a fatalistic outlook on Mexican American children's potential in school and prospects for future success in society. Both views are less common today than in the past. Present-day educators may be more circumspect and less honest about their true feelings; however, Anglo attitudes in general toward Mexican Americans and other minorities seem to be improving. America gives every indication of being more racially tolerant and accepting today than it was 10 years ago.

School practices themselves lead to teacher pessimism. Tracking Mexican Americans into low-ability sections encourages academic failure. Teachers' low expectations and subsequent sterile teaching promote student rejection of school and what it teaches. Tracking fosters a ". . . sense of personal humiliation and unworthiness. [Students] react negatively and hostilely and aggressively to the educational process. They hate teachers, they hate schools, they hate anything that seems to impose upon them this denigration, because they are not being respected as human beings, because they are sacrificed in a machinery of efficiency and expendability . . ." (Clark 1965, p. 128).

The hopelessness felt by teachers varies with grade and subject and with the morale of the particular school. Primary-grade teachers tend to be optimistic about Chicano children's ability to learn; intermediate and secondary teachers are commonly pessimistic. During the primary years minority-group children do perform fairly well, appear to be well adjusted, and seem happy in school. In the upper elementary grades rejection of the school begins and adjustment problems become evident. Introducing new curriculums or modifying the content or teaching techniques can often allay teacher discouragement. No one program or approach can be demonstrated to improve achievement or attainment; however, when educators become enthusiastic about new approaches, important changes in the school social climate and in teacher morale and perceptions can take place. Regardless of the nature of the innovation, a placebo effect may be engendered; if the children become involved in the experimental atmosphere, the so-called Hawthorne effect may ensue. If teacher optimism persists, the school environment can be modified—to the benefit of the children's achievement.

Poor school performance can be attributed to the child's peculiar personality, the failure of the culture, or the failure of the teacher. Too many well-intentioned teachers have given up, contending that failure will continue until the home environment changes, and that until then there is little hope for all but the exceptional lower-class or minority-group child.

The pervading atmosphere of almost every school with a high ethnic concentration visited during the first study was one of low expectations and pessimism. Knowlton reported that Chicano children were said to lack the ability to learn (1965, pp. 3–4). He wrote that teachers commented, "Look, so many Spanish-American children have to repeat the first grade two or three times. They just can't learn as fast as Anglo-American children. They lack the native ability to do schoolwork. If you don't believe me, just check their test scores." Many educators have reached this point of view after years of sustained effort. As one California junior high school teacher interviewed said: "We will keep trying, but there is nothing you can do with these kids; they can't discuss, they can't talk, all you can do is give them seat work to keep them busy and keep them under control." This perspective was a rationalization for the rigid classroom control so often encountered during the first study. Today, although there has been some improvement, pessimism still pervades many teachers' minds and diminishes their efforts. The failure of compensatory programs and the frustrations in implementing them have contributed to this negativism. Yet some teachers maintain an open mind and have high expectations. There is always another program or approach that holds promise; many teachers now see bilingual education as a panacea.

Empirical research has corroborated the widely held suspicion that teachers' perceptions of children's ability are crucial to academic achievement. Drawing on earlier studies with animals and phenomena such as the placebo and Hawthorne effects (that is, the influence of nonspecific factors on behavior), Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) studied the influence of teachers' high expectations on children's academic behavior as measured by standardized instruments. A random sample of children in a south San Francisco low-social-status elementary school were falsely predicted to make dramatic gains in IQ and general class work. Only the teachers – not the parents – were informed of the blooming, or spurting, predicted for the children. The study clearly demonstrated that the false predictions were self-fulfilling; the children made substantial gains in IQ. There is disagreement among scholars concerning this study; their concern focuses on methodology and replication (see Kester and Letchworth 1972; Mendels and Flanders 1973; Wilkins and Glock 1973). Rosenthal and Jacobson's findings, however, concur with our own observations and impressions that teacher perceptions of student academic potential influence teacher behavior and subsequent student performance. Exactly how this mechanism operates to the detriment of children who are perceived pessimistically is not clearly understood.

Additional information reported by Rosenthal and Jacobson is of interest in the study of Chicano schooling (pp. 174–178):

"1. The expectancy advantage—the degree to which IQ gains by the 'special children' exceeded gains by the control group children—was particularly evident among younger children (first and second graders).

"2. Older children who may have been more difficult to influence (did not demonstrate the same degree of expectancy advantage as younger children) may have been better able to maintain their advantage autonomously.

"3. While it was anticipated that slow-track children (the school divided children into three tracks) would be most affected by teachers' expectations, it was found that the middle-track children 'spurted' the most. However, the other tracks were not much behind during the first year.

"4. After the first year of the experiment and also after the second year, the Mexican children showed greater expectancy advantages than did the non-Mexican children, though the difference was not significant statistically. One interesting minority-group effect did reach significance, however, even with just a small sample size. For each of the Mexican children, magnitude of expectancy advantage was computed by subtracting from his or her gain in IQ from pretest to retest, the IQ gain made by the children of the control group in his or her classroom. These magnitudes of expectancy advantage were then correlated with the 'Mexicanness' of the children's faces. After one year, and after two years, those boys who looked more Mexican benefited more from their teachers' positive prophecies. Teachers' pre-experimental expectancies for these boys' intellectual performance were probably lowest of all. Their turning up on a list of probable bloomers must have surprised their teachers. Interest may have followed surprise and, in some way, increased watching for signs of increased brightness may have led to increased brightness.

"5. In addition to the comparison of the 'special' and the ordinary children on their gains in IQ it was possible to compare their gains after the first year of the experiment on school achievement as defined by report card grades. Only for the school subject of reading was there a significant difference in gains in report-card grades. The children expected to bloom intellectually were judged by their teachers to show greater advances in their reading ability. Just as in the case of IQ gains, it was the younger children who showed the greater expectancy advantage in reading scores. The more a given grade level had benefited in overall gains, the more that same grade level benefited in reading scores.

"6. All teachers had been asked to rate each of their pupils on variables related to intellectual curiosity, personal and social adjustment, and need for social approval. In general, children who had been expected to bloom intellectually were rated as more intellectually curious, as happier, and, especially in the lower grades, as less in need of social approval. Just as had been the case with IQ and reading ability, it was the younger children who showed the greater expectancy advantage in terms of their teachers' perceptions of their classroom behavior. Once again, children of the medium track were most advantaged by having been expected to bloom, this time in terms of their perceived greater intellectual curiosity and lessened need for social approval.

"7. When we consider expectancy advantages in terms of perceived intellectual curiosity, we find that the Mexican children did not share in the advantages of having been expected to bloom. Teachers did not see the Mexican children as more intellectually curious when they had been expected to bloom. There was even a slight tendency, stronger for Mexican boys, to see the special Mexican children as less curious intellectually. That seems surprising, particularly since the Mexican children showed the greatest expectancy advantages in IQ, in reading scores, and for Mexican boys, in overall school achievement. It seemed almost as though, for these minority-group children, intellectual competence may have been easier for teachers to bring about than to believe."

Despite criticisms of the *Pygmalion in the Classroom* study, there is little doubt that the self-fulfilling prophesy operates. Negative teacher perceptions contribute to negative student outcomes, and vice versa. Teacher pessimism toward a group or an individual influences behavior. Although the mechanisms through which this functions are not fully understood, empirical studies are contributing to our understanding of this crucial effect. (For reviews and analyses of studies related to the self-fulfilling prophesy in the classroom, see Dusek 1975, Rist 1977.)

Research demonstrates that teachers do form expectations of student performance and do behave accordingly. If expectations derive from a valid assessment of student potential, differential teacher behavior toward the student may be the appropriate treatment. Mendals and Flanders (1973) reported that expectancy bias arising from "naturalistic factors" seems to be most influential. They stress that teachers live in a school environment where many relevant and irrelevant components influence their opinions of a child's or a group's potential. The naturalistic school input includes (1) the omnipresent teacher talk about students; (2) the student records—cum folders; (3) the standardized test results; (4) the child's or family's reputation; (5) the child's physical attributes, sex, attractiveness, motivation level, and social class. The teachers' views of the group or individual potential can be influenced by their perceptions of the child's cultural background, physical features, or race. Although some of the input may be relevant and positive, most of it is irrelevant and can negatively bias expectations for minority-group children. The natural input appears to be more influential than experimentally induced expectancy and is received from many school and community sources. When the information concerns the academic potential of blacks and Mexican Americans, it is usually pessimistic. Teachers behave differently toward Mexican American and black students. The precise social-psychological mechanism that translates negative teacher expectancy into teacher behavior that subsequently lowers student performance is not fully understood.

Mexican American and black students receive less of the teacher support that encourages learning. Southwestern teachers interact more positively with Anglo students in ethnically mixed classes than they do with Chicanos. Whether these teachers hold negative views of Mexican Americans may be unimportant; their behavior is the significant point. As one Chicano high school student put it, "I don't care whether teachers hate us, I just don't want them to act like they do." Although it is impossible for educators to change the home environments and personality characteristics of Mexican American children, it is possible to modify their own discriminatory behavior.

Teacher negativism is hard to document. Until recently differences in classroom treatment were also difficult to substantiate; anecdotal and impressionistic descriptions had to suffice. As part of their comprehensive study of Southwestern schools, the United States Commission on Civil Rights undertook to describe teacher-student verbal interactions in 429 classrooms in 52 schools. This effort was the first large-scale investigation of differences in teacher behavior toward minority and majority children. The findings clearly indicate that Chicanos are not receiving the benefits of public education to the same extent as Anglos (Table 43).

This portion of the Civil Rights Study is an attempt to overcome the shortcomings of traditional social science school research, most of which relies on surveys and fails to penetrate the social and psychological dynamics of the school and classroom. For example, the Coleman report indicated that differences in student achievement were statistically related to the student's social and economic background—to home factors. The report found that achievement was not strongly related to school factors. Critics of survey research reason that it does not measure the significant human and social variables. An intensive study of the sociocultural climate within a classroom or school might show that Coleman's statistical conclusions were faulty and that positive patterns of teacher-student interaction could overcome the influence of social class and family background. We don't know whether or not a positive long-term school experience would raise achievement and attainment of poor Chicanos. Rather than statistically relate obvious, readily measurable, and superficial constituents, the commission explored functioning Southwestern classrooms. Their conclusions attest to a default of the school. They may have uncovered a major failing of the school.

The following excerpts are from the commission's analysis (Civil Rights Study, Report 5, pp. 9–10):

> The assessment of the quality of the classroom teaching process is a complex matter. The teacher comes to the classroom with a given set of attitudes, expectations, skills, and goals. The teacher seeks to instruct, guide, and encourage between 20 and 40 students each of whom, in turn, comes to the classroom with his or her own individual attitudes, expectations, skills, and goals. A multitude of different types of exchanges occur between teacher and students and among students during a normal class session.
>
> Traditionally, the assessment of teaching has been conducted primarily on a subjective, or even intuitive, basis by occasional visits

Table 43: Average Measures of Pupil Interaction for Individual Mexican American and Anglo Students*

Flanders's categories		*Average Mexican American*	*Average Anglo*	*Disparity*	*Percentage increase in Anglo over MA*
(2) PRAISING OR ENCOURAGING: Praises or encourages student action or behavior. Jokes that release tension, not at the expense of another individual, nodding head, or saying "uhhuh?" or "go on" are included.	All teachers	.137	.186	+.049	35.8
	Anglo teachers	.138	.172	+.034	24.6
	MA teachers	.136	.326	+.090	139.7
(3) ACCEPTANCE OR USE OF IDEAS OF STUDENT: Clarifying, building, or developing ideas or suggestions by a student. As teacher brings more of his own ideas into play, shift to category (5).		.156	.219	+.063	40.4
(4) QUESTIONING: Asking a question about content or procedure with intent that student answer.		.525	.636	+.111	21.1

Table 43 – *Continued*

Flanders's categories	*Average Mexican American*	*Average Anglo*	*Disparity*	*Percentage increase in Anglo over MA*
(8) & (9) Student Speaking combined STUDENT TALK-RESPONSE: Talk by students in response to teacher. Teacher initiates contact or solicits student statement. STUDENT TALK-INITIATION: Talk by students, which they initiate. If calling on student is only to indicate who may talk next, observer must decide whether student wanted to talk.	1.567	1.982	+.415	26.5

* Per pupil interaction measures are the number of times during a 10-minute observation period the average pupil of each ethnic group was involved in interaction of each type. The figures were obtained by the following method: (1) For each classroom observed the number of tallies associated with students of each ethnic group was divided by the number of students of that ethnic group in the classroom. (2) These per pupil measures for each classroom were added and then divided by the total number of classrooms to obtain the average per pupil interaction measures for the sample. Only disparities between Anglo and Mexican American that are statistically significant at $p = .01$ level are reported here. This means that for these disparities there is only 1 chance in 100 that corresponding disparities would not be found in the population from which the sample was drawn.

Source: Adapted from Civil Rights Study, Report 5, p. 17.

> from principals or professors. In the last two decades a more objective approach to observing and evaluating teaching has been developed, known as interaction analysis. Interaction analysis involves systematic observation of the classroom behavior and relating this behavior to characteristics of teachers, students, and schools, or to the achievement level of students. Classroom observation is conducted by coding the behavior of teachers and students according to a system of categories designed with a specific orientation or focus. This information is then systematically compiled to obtain a picture of the actual teaching-learning processes.
>
> One of the most widely used classroom interaction observation systems is that developed by Dr. Ned Flanders. The Commission chose the Flanders system of Interaction Analysis because this system focuses on forms of teacher behavior which are most directly related to encouraging and involving the student in the learning process. The Flanders system codes the predominant classroom behavior once every three seconds according to the most appropriate of the following 10 categories: (1) teacher accepts the student's feelings; (2) teacher praises student; (3) teacher accepts or uses student's ideas; (4) teacher asks a question; (5) teacher lectures; (6) teacher gives student directions; (7) teacher criticizes student; (8) student speaks in response to teacher's questions or directions; (9) student speaks on his own initiative; (10) no one is speaking or confusion prevails. [See Amidon and Flanders 1963.]

There are differences of opinion whether certain patterns of teacher-student verbal behavior lead to greater or less academic achievement. We assume, however, that what the Anglo is getting more of is good and conducive of academic achievement and school attainment and that to receive less is bad and conducive of poor school performance. Although classroom interaction patterns had been studied in regard to teacher and student characteristics, no systematic, large-scale observation of teacher and student interaction related to ethnicity had previously been reported. Subsequently Gay (1974) studied Southwestern blacks, using a similar, but different, methodology. Her findings generally parallel those of the commission. In summarizing their results the Civil Rights Study stated (Report 5, p. 17): "*Mexican American* *pupils in the survey area receive considerably less of some of the most educationally beneficial forms of teacher behavior than do Anglos in the same classrooms.* Mexican Americans receive significantly less praise and encouragement from the teacher and less often hear the teacher accept or use the ideas they express. Teachers also spend significantly less time in asking questions of Chicano pupils than of Anglo pupils. On the composite measure of positive response from the teacher, which includes acceptance of student feelings, praise or encouragement, and acceptance of student ideas, Mexican Americans receive significantly less than Anglos. Furthermore, teachers address significantly more of their total noncriticizing talk to Anglo pupils than to Chicanos. Closely related to the differences in teacher behavior with students of each ethnic group is the finding that Mexican American students speak significantly less in class than do Anglos. In total, the six statistically significant disparities in classroom interaction all favor Anglo pupils over Chicano pupils."

Disparity of treatment was found in all behavior categories observed. The study reported non-statistically significant disparities in an additional four categories not included in Table 43: Acceptance of Student's Feelings, Lecturing, Giving Directions, and Criticizing or Justifying Authority. The commission commented on these behavioral categories (p. 18): "Teachers expressed very little acceptance of the feelings of any students, but they did express acceptance twice as often for Anglos as for Mexican Americans. . . . The average Mexican American student received slightly more of both directions and criticism from the teacher than did the average Anglo. *Although the differences in direction and criticism are small, they are important as part of the total pattern of classroom interaction – a pattern in which Chicano pupils consistently are encouraged less and discouraged more than their Anglo counterparts.*"

Other interesting discoveries were made by the Civil Rights Study staff. Teachers fail to involve Chicanos in classroom verbal activities ". . . to the same extent as the Anglo pupil, both in terms of quantity and quality of interaction" (p. 19). This observation is not new to those who have observed mixed classrooms in the Southwest. It is the rule, not the exception. Reference to Table 43 provides an intriguing and unsuspected finding: "The disparity in the amount of praise given to Mexican American and Anglo students was also found to vary significantly with the ethnicity of the teacher. Mexican American and Anglo teachers give similar amounts of praise or encouragement to Chicano pupils. However, Mexican American teachers praise Anglo pupils considerably more than their Anglo colleagues" (p. 29). The finding is difficult to explain. It may be a result of the small number of Mexican American teachers involved in the study (about 9 percent). But these findings should encourage educators to investigate Mexican American and Anglo teacher differences in their interaction with different ethnic groups.

In concluding the review of her own and other studies on expectancy and behavior, Geneva Gay summed up the situation (1975, pp. 170–171): "Although the research studies now available on teachers' expectations and behavior with ethnically different students are far too few for the findings to be conclusive, they are indeed suggestive. It appears as if student ethnicity is a major determinant of teachers' expectations and interactional behaviors. Teachers expect less of Blacks and Chicanos, in terms of academic substance and quality; and they behave in ways consonant with these expectations. They give such students fewer opportunities and less encouragement to participate in classroom verbal interactions, while white students get more opportunity to participate, more praise and encouragement, and other positive reinforcing feedback."

Mexican American teachers

It is logical to assume that Mexican American teachers would be more accepting of their own group's children than would non-Mexican Americans. Having shared similar experiences, they would tend to understand the living and learning conditions of Chicano children. It is also reasonable to suppose that children would look up to the teachers as social role models. Observations and interviews a decade ago challenged these assumptions. The intervening years have brought increased pressure for more Mexican American educators. The role-model argument has been strengthened, elaborated, and reiterated. Federally encouraged affirmative action programs, court-directed minority hiring plans, as well as efforts of teacher-preparation institutions and school districts have all helped to augment the number of Chicano educators, although the group is still underrepresented. Despite such progress, questions remain: Do Mexican Americans make better teachers for Chicano children? Are they more understanding? Do Mexican American teachers aid children by providing role models of success? There are no studies to give the answers; observations are limited. Although we applaud affirmative action and progress in employment, we suspect that Mexican American teachers are not unlike their Anglo and black peers. They seem to be distributed on a similar curve in every aspect of quality and philosophy. This represents no indictment of any group, but merely points up the situation within the profession. We have a long way to go to improve the skills and understanding of educators, "regardless of race, creed, or national origin."

Mexican American teachers generally have beliefs similar to those of other teachers. The majority adhere to a deficiency–compensatory education orientation. Many Chicano teachers denounce the stereotyped descriptions of their life-style and consider much of the home culture as positive; they concur, though, that the lower-class home is deficient. Even the racist position has a few Chicano advocates who assume that the amount of Indian blood influences intellectual capacity. Mexican American and Anglo teachers appear to be equally effective or ineffective with Mexican American children. Although bilingual teachers are needed, their Mexican ancestry may be of less consequence than their ability to understand, accept, empathize with, and constructively cope with individual and cultural diversity. Many Chicano and Anglo educators take strong exception to this point of view. Perhaps ethnic nationalism on the part of the Mexican Americans and racial prejudice and desire for separateness on the part of the Anglos affect their respective positions.

Some light can be shed on this controversial topic by analyzing the roles teachers play in schools. Southwestern teachers of all ethnic groups fit into three broad and naturally overlapping categories as they function within, and relate to, their schools and students: the *conformist*, the *expecter*, and the *system beater*. Each classification has a standard and a super category within it. Mexican American teachers tend to be on the super side of each category.

To persevere within a school system, teachers must conform. Conformists flourish in all school social climates. Conforming teachers are in rigid, authoritarian schools as well as in unstructured, chaotic schools. Teachers with personalities or philosophies widely divergent from those dominating a school have two alternatives: either outwardly conform or flee. Either they must learn to adjust by keeping their mouths shut, teaching children what they are supposed to learn, and showing appropriate deference to authority, or they must seek a position in a different system or occupation. Unfortunately, this school social system deters many persons of all ethnic groups and continues the school status quo. Many teachers cannot flee to other systems or jobs because they are tied to a locale by their spouse's occupation, their family, their love of the particular geographic area. They have to conform to exist. Some become institutional personalities, internalizing the norms of the institution and making its values theirs. Some conform to degrees not even demanded by the institution. Many Mexican American teachers are in this super conformist category. They adhere strictly to institutional demands and norms, apparently to gain whatever financial, social, or political rewards the system provides. That so many minority-group teachers seem to be conformists is understandable. The alternative positions (economic slots) available to Mexican Americans are more severely limited in many Southwestern communities than are those for Anglo teachers. Thus, Chicano teachers may be forced into conformity. They cannot flee because other opportunities are not available; they must conform to the expectations of those in power. With the increasing demand for minority teachers, conforming and super conforming among Mexican American educators are probably diminishing.

While adhering to the system's requirements and policies, many Mexican American teachers recognize the school's inadequacies. They understand many of the Chicano child's school problems, but because of their precarious position they are unable to bring about changes. Because few Mexican Americans reach positions of authority within Anglo-dominated school systems, and few who are promoted hold divergent views, another problem is created. The nonconformist Chicano teachers, the ones who want change, have no advocates in power. These teachers are even less capable of fomenting change than are their Anglo peers within the conformist group. Most Chicano teachers started their careers with zeal and determination to aid their group's children, but pressure from innumerable sources has dampened their enthusiasm. Those who can't conform flee to other occupations or become system beaters.

Expecters honestly want their students to excel in school and succeed in society. This applies especially to the middle-class or upwardly mobile persons. Many Mexican American teachers hold excessively high expectations for their group's children and sincerely attempt to identify with their charges, contending that they share the same background but have risen above it. This is a super middle-class group. They seem to say, "Look, you poor Chicanos, I made it and you can make it, too. The only trouble with you is your attitude." These teachers maintain that the attitudes, values, and background of their students are wrong, not the system. They may expect more of minority-group children and be harsher on them than others are, seeing this approach to be in the best interest of the children. One Anglo Texas superintendent said that he would never again place a Mexican American principal in a barrio school because his district "has fallen flat on its face in moving Mexican Americans into principalships. They have no sympathy for Mexican American parents." One such principal "expected a great deal more of Mexican American parents than he would have of Anglo parents," and the school district almost had a revolution. Other informants reported that students were particularly resentful of rigid and high expectations from minority-group teachers.

Many Mexican American teachers are themselves the products of environments similar to their children's, but they are upwardly mobile and often accept middle-class norms and values more thoroughly than do their Anglo counterparts. Some of these expecters may harbor negative feelings toward their poor relations. Clark reports similar conditions among black teachers, finding such attitudes understandable, though regrettable. He states (1965, p. 132): "Many of today's scholars and teachers come from 'culturally deprived' backgrounds. Many of these same individuals, however, when confronted with students whose present economic and social predicament is not unlike their own was, tend to react negatively to them, possibly to escape the painful memory of their own prior lower status."

Part of conforming entails the notion that the values, beliefs, orientations, and rationalizations of the system are internalized. Some Mexican American teachers only pretend to conform but in reality are system beaters; they outwardly comply with institutional expectations while circumventing them. System beaters are in all ethnic groups, and as in the other categories, Chicanos overpopulate the extreme side. System beaters do the most for minority-group children; those of

Mexican descent are efficient in raising achievement and in encouraging institutionally acceptable behavior. They play a significant role in their schools, deliberately attempting to identify with their students and often succeeding. They stress the similarity between their own and their students' backgrounds and in so doing develop a joint conspiracy to evade the full force of the system's directives and sanctions, as well as the negativism engendered by the school social climate. A mutual protection association is formed between teacher and student, each encouraging the other to evade the system while incurring as little disapproval and as much reward as possible. Such teachers are often censured by administrators, but they provide the kind of support essential to many Chicano students.

During the late sixties a new Chicano educator emerged—the vocal, or so-called radical, change agent. Rather than conform or beat the system, a few teachers—often with the support of the Mexican American community—took great personal chances in confronting the establishment with their demand for the elimination of institutional racism and the establishment of improved curriculums, policy, and practice. Today such actions and vocal change agents are rare.

These categories of teachers are found everywhere and are populated by all groups. It is unfortunate that two of the categories, conformist and expecter, appear to be negative. System beaters have a positive function, as do the change agents. Other ways to look at educators are available, but these characteristics are stressed because they seem obvious in Southwestern schools. Most Mexican American teachers work and try hard; many do a magnificent job and are patient and understanding. Some of the most spontaneous classes observed were conducted by Mexican American teachers.

Quality of effort

In general it can be stated that the lower the socioeconomic status of students, the poorer the quality of physical facilities. Poor districts receive less money for average daily attendance (ADA); therefore, they have less to spend. Schools in rural districts, which in many areas of the Southwest serve numerous poor Mexican Americans, have less adequate plants than do schools in metropolitan districts in the same state. Differences in physical facilities among neighborhood schools within the same district are less obvious in California than in the other four Southwestern states when comparisons are made among the states.

The terrible physical condition of Mexican schools, as described in the early literature, is still encountered but is less prevalent. Sánchez's report on New Mexico school conditions in the late 1930s; Taylor's description of Texas schools during the same period (1934); and other reports from California, Arizona, and Colorado documented the plight of the Chicano schools. Physical plants were run-down, badly maintained, overcrowded, poorly furnished, and ill-equipped. They could not compare with Anglo institutions within the same school district. (See Calderón 1950; Corona 1955; Holliday 1935; Kibbee 1946; Lehman 1947; Manuel 1930; Rubel 1966; Sánchez 1966; Strickland and Sánchez 1948; Trillingham and Hughes 1943.)

Although conditions are much improved today, some Mexican American schools are still in deplorable physical condition. In many sections of the Southwest the contrast between the facilities of predominantly minority schools and those of middle-class institutions is great. The minority schools are poorly maintained and dilapidated, often lacking landscaping and outside play facilities. The present practice is to replace these older buildings with modern structures. This explains why the barrio schools in some communities have by far the best facilities in the district. If this trend continues, the difference in quality will be lessened, perhaps eliminated. Often schools serving migrant children have the oldest and poorest plants within a district, especially in certain areas of Texas.

In school districts with high percentages of Mexican Americans, many buildings in present use were not constructed as schools; conversions were made from convents, old homes, or military facilities. It is probably impossible to tax the population at higher rates in most of these areas, which are often economically depressed. The economic base in some, however, is industrial agriculture; and in these districts higher taxation is possible, the local power structure permitting.

A Texas school administrator interviewed during the first study, recognizing the poor facilities for Mexican Americans in his district, described the feeling of some of his fellow educators and perhaps of the Anglo community: Placing poor Chicanos in beautiful schools with exciting surroundings would raise their expectations and ultimately encourage frustration, since ". . . so few Mexicans can ever reach such levels during their lifetime." Although such blatant opinions were not expressed during the second phase of this study, it must be assumed that the justification for poor facilities continues. In socially closed communities people believe the school should adjust children to their future place in society. The school's role is not to raise Chicano aspirations but, rather, to adapt children to the low aspirations appropriate to their future subordinate status in the community.

Well-maintained school plants do not guarantee high-quality education. Exciting, creative, and dedicated teachers work in schools that are in poor physical condition; however, it is difficult to deny that size of class, length of teacher service, and qualifications of teachers influence the quality of education. Schools with many Chicanos have a disproportionate percentage of poorly prepared teachers. In the past it was usual for noncertified teachers to gravitate toward, or be placed in, barrio schools. In an unpublished study of 1,650 elementary teachers in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, Ramirez (1966) reported that 10 percent of the teachers had no bachelor's degree, 13 percent were serving with emergency credentials, and 30 percent were on provisional credentials; only 47 percent were fully certified teachers. A Rio Grande Valley superintendent reported that he was forced to employ some teachers with as few as 60 college credits. In other parts of the state the teacher preparation was better. The Governor's Committee on Public School Education in Texas (1968) found a strong relationship between Spanish-surname percentages in the population and teachers who were practicing without a bachelor's degree. The committee found that a characteristic of districts with teacher shortages was a high percentage of minority groups. During the three-year period from 1964–65 to 1966–67, Texas teachers who did not have degrees and were teaching with emergency permits made up more than 14 percent of the total teaching staff in 9 of the committee's 158 sample districts (Table 44). Because areas with high concentrations of minority groups have low socioeconomic conditions and thus low school revenues, the relationship of poverty to the assumed quality of schooling was also shown. (See Tables 47, 48, and 49 in the following section for more information on this relationship.)

Ten years ago the shortage of qualified teachers throughout the Southwest strongly influenced the quality of Chicano schooling. Noncertified teachers were often placed in schools that served low socioeconomic areas where little reaction would be expected from the com-

Table 44: Teacher Shortages in Texas Analyzed According to Population Characteristics, 1964–65 to 1966–67

District	*Permits to teachers without degrees*	*Total permits*	*Percentage of teachers without degrees*	*Percentage of Spanish surnames in district population*	*1966–67 salary base*
Edgewood [San Antonio]	591	1,024	57	76	$4,104
Rio Grande City	53	113	55	88	4,104
Brownsville	124	297	44	73	4,384
Laredo	85	204	41	82	4,204
Pharr-San Juan-Alamo	57	140	41	70	4,450
Harlingen	56	153	37	29	4,449
Harlandale [San Antonio]	76	302	25	40	4,504
Ysleta [El Paso]	190	1,048	18	36	5,000
San Antonio	135	995	14	45	4,900

Source: Governor's Committee on Public School Education in Texas 1968, p. 46.

munity. Teacher shortages had a more adverse effect on minority schools and districts than on Anglo schools. Today the teacher shortage has been eliminated – in most states there is a surplus. Overrepresentation of noncertified teachers in Chicano schools has diminished.

It is commonly reported, but undocumented, that minority schools serve as training institutions for beginning teachers. Those who do well are subsequently moved to higher-status (middle-class and Anglo) schools (see Trillingham and Hughes 1943; Condit 1946, p. 5). Beginning Mexican American teachers are usually kept in schools with high percentages of minority children and are seldom placed in high-status Anglo schools. But many school districts transfer good Mexican American teachers to mixed schools.

Teachers considered troublemakers by school administrators are said to be punished by being assigned to minority schools. Several interviewees contended that although they could not prove such statements, they were sure it was the practice. This could sometimes prove to be a positive action; some troublemakers are creative nonconformists who work out well in new settings.

Chicano classes are larger than Anglo classes; the teacher-student ratio is higher. Although the nationwide statistics reported by Coleman et al. (1966) do not indicate significant differences, many excessively large Mexican American classes were observed during our first study. The overcrowded conditions were reported to be very common in the past; today the trend continues, but class size is somewhat reduced.

In metropolitan areas differences in the quality of physical facilities should have completely disappeared by now. Unfortunately, they have not. Some barrio schools have been replaced by modern buildings, but Mexican American schools with deplorable physical conditions still exist. Many rural and semirural districts with high percentages of Mexican Americans lag far behind because there are insufficient funds to replace worn-out or inadequate facilities. California has succeeded in eliminating most of its very old buildings, partly because state laws require earthquake-proof structures. More subtle discrimination, such as teacher placement policies, will probably continue.

Financial effort

The allocation of money to children through educational institutions is an important, although simplistic, measure of educational

Table 45: Selected Statistics on School Effort

1964–65			*1972–73*		
Public school expenditure as percentage of personal income					
New Mexico	(2)*	5.4%	New Mexico	(3)*	10.0%
Arizona	(5)	5.0	Arizona	(14)	8.3
Colorado	(10)	4.6	Colorado	(16)	8.1
Texas	(24)	4.0	Texas	(36)	6.6
California	(32)	3.8	California	(36)	6.6
U.S. average		3.8			6.9
Estimated expenditure per ADA†					
California	(9)	$613	Arizona	(14)	$1,110
Colorado	(22)	571	Texas	(18)	1,044
Arizona	(23)	568	California	(20)	1,000
New Mexico	(24)	556	Colorado	(23)	955
Texas	(39)	449	New Mexico	(37)	829
U.S. average		$564			$1,034
Estimated average teachers' salaries					
California	(2)	$8,450	California	(4)	$11,760
Arizona	(15)	7,230	Arizona	(16)	10,460
New Mexico	(20)	6,630	Colorado	(20)	9,774
Colorado	(21)	6,625	Texas	(33)	8,735
Texas	(33)	6,025	New Mexico	(38)	8,452
U.S. average		$6,821			$10,114
Pupils per classroom teacher					
Colorado	(12)	22.3	Texas	(29)	21.9
Arizona	(22)	23.8	Colorado	(35)	23.3
New Mexico	(26)	24.4	Arizona	(36)	23.4
Texas	(31)	24.9	California	(40)	24.0
California	(44)	26.7	New Mexico	(43)	24.2
U.S. average		24.6			22.3

* Rank order in the nation.

† Average daily attendance.

Source: Adapted from National Education Association, "Rankings of the States, 1967," pp. 21, 23, 25, 26, 32; "Rankings of the States, 1973," pp. 17, 23, 25, 31, 61, 68.

quality. The Southwestern states vary considerably in their ability and willingness (effort) to support public schools. Relative effort among Southwestern states has changed significantly over the last decade; the five states are becoming more alike. Inequalities in school finance are well recognized. California, responding to court action, is developing plans to equalize expenditures per child throughout the state. Soon, California children residing in poor districts will have approximately the same amount of money spent on their schooling as they would if they lived in rich districts. Especially in Texas, Mexican Americans are overrepresented in school districts with low assessed valuation: Equalization of expenditures there should greatly improve the school financial condition.

A decade ago a clear pattern was obvious when efforts were compared in the five states. Table 45 demonstrates the changes and some radical reversals between 1965 and 1972 (the most recent rankings available). California no longer was clearly the top—Arizona and Texas both spent more per ADA; Texas was no longer a weak fifth in effort. Texas and California, however, badly trailed the less industrialized, the poor states. New Mexico and Arizona spent significantly larger percentages of personal income on schools. All in all, a leveling off among the states seems to be occurring. Although Table 45 does not report all 50 states, a picture of the relative effort of the Southwestern states can be drawn by referring to the United States average and rank order within the nation. In 1972, in most categories reported, the five states were on the negative side of the national average. California's leadership role is maintained only in teacher salaries. Mexican Americans live primarily in the five Southwestern states, most of them in Texas and California. It is fair to say that almost all Mexican Americans in the nation live and attend school in a region that in general makes a less-than-average educational effort.

Interstate and interregional comparisons are interesting but are less significant than intrastate comparisons. The differences in effort between districts within the same state are startling. A pattern of discrimination against the poor and perhaps ethnic groups is inherent in state arrangements to finance schools. The beginning of this decade saw a revival of earlier attempts to equalize financial effort. The Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, under then Senator Walter Mondale, devoted much study and subsequent publicity to inequities of school finance (see hearings of the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity). The President's Commission on School Finance and the United States Commission on Civil Rights also investigated inequality of effort within states (Civil Rights Study, Report 4). These and other studies revolved around one concern: Are economically poor children discriminated against? The answer to this question hinges on the relationship among a school district's ability to finance schools, the state's efforts to augment local district efforts, and the incidence of poor people (and minorities) residing in poor districts – that is, those of low assessed valuation.

Three levels of government – federal, state, and local – share in the support of education. Usually the local level contributes about 55 percent, the state 40 percent, and the federal the remainder of money spent on schools. This appears equitable until the individual local situation is investigated. When districts cannot raise the necessary money from local sources, the states increase their allocation. Even with increased state aid, poor districts have less money for their schools than those districts with higher assessed property value have. Despite state, local, and federal efforts, some districts spend a great deal more on schooling than others do. If you live in a poor district, the amount of money raised can be less than if you live in a rich district. Inequality of educational opportunity results, as described by Kelly in testimony before the Senate Select Committee (1971, pp. 7459–7460): "When state legislatures delegate to localities the power to tax property, they make a grossly unequal grant of power. Rich school districts have far more taxing power per pupil than other districts. Sometimes the wealthiest [school] district in a state is several hundred times wealthier than the poorest. These disparities become serious inequities when one examines their fiscal and educational consequences – and equal educational opportunity becomes a hoax rather than a reality. States have attempted to compensate for this unequal grant of power by adopting grant-in-aid programs presumably designed to equalize among localities the distribution of educational services, or the tax burden for education. The fact is that in no case has one of these equalization or foundation programs actually equalized educational opportunities." The state's effort to eliminate differences in expenditures among districts simply does not work. Equalization formulas do not equalize educational opportunity.

Table 46: Disparities in School Finance in Southwestern States

	Per pupil expenditure (all districts 1969–70)			
	High	*Low*	*Student average*	*Ratio*
Arizona	$2,233	$436	$775	5.10
California	2,414	569	753	4.24
Colorado	2,801	444	735	6.31
New Mexico	1,183	477	690	2.48
Texas	5,334	264	608	20.20

* Quotient between most able and least able districts within the state.

† Received by district with highest amount when compared with district receiving least amount.

Source: Adapted from Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, pp. 7471–7472.

Great disparity persists in per pupil expenditures in spite of state level assistance based on equalization formulas or other similar mechanisms. The Senate Select Committee reported these disparities for the entire nation. Table 46 reports only the five states of our primary concern. The disparities are as obvious as they are extreme. Focusing on California, Kelly continued his testimony to the committee (p. 7460): "A comparison between Beverly Hills and West Covina will illustrate these inequities. Beverly Hills had a tax rate in 1968–69 of $2.38 per $100 and spent $1,231 per pupil. West Covina had a tax rate in the same year of $5.24 and it could spend, despite the higher rate, $621 per pupil. The reason why the higher tax effort did not produce a higher expenditure was that the assessed valuation per pupil in Beverly Hills has far surpassed that in West Covina: $87,066 as compared with $7,688 per elementary school pupil, and $122,452 as compared with $15,051 per high school pupil. In a survey of the ten richest and ten poorest unified districts in California, the ten richest districts all spent (in 1968–69) more than any of the ten poorest, even though all of the ten poorest districts have tax rates that are higher than the rates in all but one of the ten richest districts." The greatest difference in expenditures between rich and poor districts was found in Texas. There the total per pupil revenue ratio was 2.65. Texas had almost double the disparity of Arizona, and a third greater spread between rich and poor than the remaining Southwestern states. Texas

Financial ability per pupil (17 districts in state over 1,500 ADA 1968–69)				
High	*Low*	*Ability ratio**	*Total per pupil revenue ratio†*	*Percent local revenue of total per pupil*
$36,054.43	$4,867.59	7.41	1.38	32
47,260.00	1,989.35	23.76	1.95	58
171.40	68.50	2.50	1.84	61
25,264.02	1,771.24	14.26	1.62	14
442.02	5.22	84.52	2.65	52

was in third place in the nation in this disparity of effort between rich and poor districts.

These financial facts are relatively easy to document. Other, more subtle disparities and relationships are suspected. It would seem obvious that (1) children living in economically poor families are overrepresented in school districts with low ability to raise revenue—poor children live in poor districts; (2) Mexican Americans and blacks are overrepresented among the poor—poor children tend to be minority children; and (3) minority children are overrepresented in school districts with low ability to raise revenue—blacks and Chicanos are overrepresented in poor districts. This seems logical, but it may not be true in all states. It is clearly so in Texas, where many of the poor are Chicano and reside in predominantly Mexican American school districts. The Texas situation was investigated and documented by the

Table 47: Texas Expenditures per Pupil from State and Local Revenue Sources, 1967–68

Mexican American percentage of district enrollment	*Expenditure per pupil (ADA)*
10–19.9	$464*
20–29.9	484
30–49.9	450
50–79.9	383
80–100	296

* Expenditures shown do not include capital outlay costs and payment of principal and interest on outstanding bonded indebtedness.

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 4.

Table 48: Indicators of Quality Education in Texas, 1967–68

Mexican American percentage of district enrollment	*Education of teachers*		
	Nondegree	*Bachelor's*	*Master's*
0–24	3.0	67.9	28.7
25–49	1.9	75.3	22.8
50–74	2.7	74.0	23.2
75–100	5.0	76.6	18.3

Mexican American percentage of district enrollment	*Average teacher salary*
0–24	$6,458
25–49	6,291
50–74	6,269
75–100	6,072

Source: Adapted from Civil Rights Study, Report 4.

Table 49: Two Texas Districts, 1967–68

District characteristics	*Core city district*	*Suburban district*
Enrollment	22,000	23,000
Family income (annual)	$ 3,300	$ 7,400
Population composition		
Spanish surname	76%	7%
Black	5%	0%
Anglo	19%	93%
Extra professional personnel beyond MFP*	[45]*	91
Teachers on emergency permits (not certified)	52%	5%
State aid per ADA	217	$ 221
Full property value per ADA	5,875	$29,650

*A complicated computation involving local and state efforts to provide minimum staff—part of Texas equalization attempt. MFP is minimum facilitator program; bracket indicates deficit figure.

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 4, adapted from Governor's Committee on Public School Education: *The Challenge and the Chance*, August 1968.

research staff of the Civil Rights Study. They found a distinct relationship among ethnicity, taxable property, state contribution, and per pupil expenditure. In general, the larger the percentage of Mexican

Americans in a Texas district, the smaller the local and state contributions, the lower the property values, the lower the assessed value per pupil, the lower the average personal income per pupil, and the lower the expenditure per pupil. Table 47 illustrates the relationship.

State and local financial effort diminishes in Texas as the percentage of Chicano enrollment increases. The differences are similar, although not so obvious, when elements assumed to reflect quality of education are examined. In Texas, the more Chicanos in a school district, the less the quality of education (Table 48). The qualitative differences are graphically illustrated by comparing two Texas school districts (Table 49). Enrollment and state aid per ADA are similar in both, but in every other aspect the core city and the suburban city differ markedly. The amount of taxable property and the willingness to tax it directly influence the amount of money expended on Texas public education. Mexican Americans tend to live in poor districts that have little local money to spend. The state contribution fails to equalize the poor and rich districts. In the illustration in Table 49, the amount of state money is actually less in the core city district. The commission concluded that the Texas attempt to equalize ". . . can perhaps best be described as a repressive jumble of provisions and conditions that do not adequately reduce financial disparities between Anglo and Mexican American districts and insure that significantly less is spent to educate Chicano children than their Anglo counterparts" (Report 4, p. 29).

Ethnicity and poor school effort are not so clearly interrelated in other Southwestern states. Speaking about the national situation, Coons, Clune, and Sugarman discount the relationship between race and school effort (1970, p. 355): "The fact is otherwise. There is no reason to suppose that the system of district-based school finance embodies a racial basis. The districts which contain the great masses of black children ordinarily also contain great masses of white children. There well may be a very significant racial/dollar discrimination *within* districts, but that is another problem: to lump it with interdistrict discrimination is totally misleading." Whether or not this is the case in the Southwest remains an open question.

Although the majority of Chicano students are in predominantly Anglo schools, we strongly suspect that the percentage of Mexican Americans within a district is related to financial effort. The gross differences encountered in Texas will not be found in other Southwestern states; however, positive correlations between ethnicity and fiscal effort probably exist. This assumption is partially supported in California by the findings of Levin and her fellow researchers. They determined a relationship between minority-group concentrations within districts and per pupil expenditures; however, the connection was not so obvious as in Texas. In California large concentrations of minority students are found in districts with high expenditure per pupil. Levin et al. reported (1972, pp. 26–27): "When blacks and Spanish surnamed [Mexican American] students are viewed separately, different expenditure patterns for these two largest minorities become evident. In general, the districts with the highest proportion of black students are spending more per pupil than districts with the highest proportion of Spanish surnamed students. The reverse is true, however, in the middle ranges – the districts with from 10 to 20 percent minority enrollment. There, the districts with concentrations of Spanish surnamed students spend more per student than those with concentrations of blacks. However, this expenditure pattern appears to be more directly related to differences in costs for the same educational services rather than to a recognition of student need." Mexican Americans again seem to be getting the short end of the stick, although not so short as in Texas.

Although no one would seriously suggest that dollar investment per student is the only, or even the best, indicator of quality education, it is certainly the easiest single indicator. In the Southwest poor children and probably Chicanos go to schools where less money is spent on their education. The recognition of this inequity and the subsequent move to eliminate it were not generated within the profession. Criticism and demand for change emanated from sources outside the education establishment. The constitutionality of school finance plans based on local wealth became highly suspect. Throughout the country many educators and legal experts accept the following: (1) The value of property varies greatly among school districts. (2) Poor districts – those with low amounts of taxable property per pupil – tax themselves at a higher rate and in turn generate less revenue than rich districts. (3) State financial assistance does little to eliminate, or equalize, per pupil expenditures among districts. (4) Because this is true, the quality of education – as far as money can measure it – is directly related to the wealth of the school district. (5) This method of finance deprives children in poor districts of equal protection of law under the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees. (6) Thus children are deprived of equal educational opportunity.

Serious issues are raised concerning the validity of basing such a large percentage of school finance on property taxes: (1) Property ownership is not closely related to wealth in modern society; property ownership does not indicate an ability to pay taxes. (2) Property taxes are poorly administered; assessment methods vary greatly. (3) These taxations are regressive and fall disproportionately on those least able to afford them; the poor spend proportionately more on housing. Strong arguments are made that property taxation for school support is inappropriate. Other sources of revenue will probably be developed. (For an excellent discussion of the legal issues, see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Inequality in School Financing*, 1972.)

Major legal battles in Texas and California resulted from a realization of the inequities inherent in school financing. In other states similar concern is manifest. Both Southwestern cases were similar; the variations were significant to their judicial outcome.

In the California case, *Serrano* v. *Priest* (1971), the plaintiffs brought a class action suit against the state. They carried the case through the state court system to the California Supreme Court. In summarizing their 1971 decision the supreme court stated (p. 604):

> We are called upon to determine whether the California public school financing system, with its substantial dependence on local property taxes and resultant wide disparities in school revenue, violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. We have determined that this funding scheme invidiously discriminates against the poor because it makes the quality of a child's education a function of the wealth of his parents and neighbors. Recognizing as we must that the right to an education in our public schools is a fundamental interest which cannot be conditioned on wealth, we can discern no compelling state purpose necessitating the present method of financing. We have concluded, therefore, that such a system cannot withstand constitutional challenge and must fall before the equal protection clause.

The courts ruled in terms of the concept of fiscal neutrality; that is, the quality of education (as far as it is defined in terms of money) cannot be a function of wealth, other than the wealth of the whole state. (See Coons, Clune, and Sugarman 1970.)

The court's decision was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, who let stand the California ruling. Additional legal procedural actions resulted, leading to a reaffirmation by the California Supreme Court in 1976. The court ordered the state to develop new methods of school financing that did not violate the equal protection clause.

The *Serrano* decision is a major breakthrough and is perhaps the most important equal educational opportunity decision since *Brown* in 1954. Unfortunately, it is based on the California Constitution and is thus limited to that state. The decision stemmed from three legal principles. The plaintiffs successfully argued that economic status, or wealth of individuals, was the principal factor in determining the quality of schooling provided by the state. Wealth, as well as race and sex, is a "suspect classification." This means that there must be a "compelling state interest" when such social distinctions are employed by the state to differentially treat its citizens. To legally treat a suspect classification differentially, the state must demonstrate that there is no other way to accomplish the desired and all-important objective. For example, a constitutional school finance plan based on the wealth of a district (or on that of its people) would have to demonstrate conclusively that no other rational basis for school finance exists. Speaking to these points, the California court found (p. 1263):

> [The state's] public school financing system . . . conditions the full entitlement to [education] on wealth, classifies its recipients on the basis of their collective affluence and makes the quality of a child's education depend upon the resources of his school district and ultimately upon the pocketbook of his parents. We find that such financing system as presently constituted is not necessary to the attainment of any compelling state interest. Since it does not withstand the requisite "strict scrutiny," it denies to the plaintiffs and others similarly situated the equal protection of the laws.

The court argued that by so financing schools it denied equal access to education. Their actions, based on the California Constitution, established that education is a fundamental interest or right. In California the state cannot deny a fundamental right on the basis of a suspect classification without demonstrating a compelling state interest. The state was unable to do so, and the California Supreme Court ordered that school finance must be reorganized on a basis other than district wealth.

In the Texas case, *San Antonio Independent School District* v. *Rodriguez* (1973), the United States Supreme Court overturned the federal circuit court decision. In this case the plaintiffs had alleged that Mexican Americans and the poor, both suspect classifications, had been denied equal educational opportunity because of the Texas method of financing schools. In brief, the Court found: (1) The Texas system does not disadvantage a suspect class, either race or economic, nor is it dependent on the relative wealth of individuals in any district; there are rich and poor in both wealthy and poor districts. (2) The Texas system of finance does not interfere with a fundamental right; the United States Constitution was deemed not to guarantee education as a fundamental right. (3) Although the Texas school finance system is admittedly imperfect, it is a rational way to finance schools. This case had far-reaching influence on the whole country and would have set an important precedent had the Supreme Court ruled otherwise. Undoubtedly attempts will be made to reverse the adverse decision and to establish that education is a fundamental right.

The issue is far from closed. Other states will be challenged to eliminate the denial of equal access to education based on, or influenced by, school district financial effort. The legal battle in California will result in a more equitable situation for the poor and the minorities. In Texas the unsuccessful legal effort produced an awareness of a grave problem and provided clear evidence that Mexican Americans receive far less than their equitable share of monies for schooling.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The processes through which school practices, teacher attitudes, and curricular irrelevancies and rigidities have contributed to the low educational attainment of Chicanos have been touched upon. These ingredients act in combination and probably in a mutually reinforcing fashion. There is neither a theoretical framework nor empirical evidence that would make it possible to isolate and assess the impact of each of the numerous forces through which the school system contributes to deficient education for Mexican Americans. The influence of the school's inadequacies might best be comprehended by observing the results.

One probable result is a negative school experience for Mexican American children that causes them to reject the institution and, because it is often their first and most intensive encounter with an institution of the larger society, to transfer their rejection to society as a whole. When teacher behavior and institutional procedures encourage a negative social climate within the school, the learner reaction will also be negative. Though a certain degree of negativism toward school is common to all groups and classes of children, the segregation and isolation of Mexican Americans aggravate it. Negative attitudes toward school are particularly noticeable in segregated schools and among students assigned to low tracks. The individual child who attempts to persevere and retain a positive view toward school finds it extremely difficult to counter the attitudes of the relatively homogeneous peer group.

Another consequence of the school's inadequacies is the familiar culture conflict between home and school. Teachers expect minority-group children to learn middle-class norms of achievement, individual responsibility, and good manners. The standards taught may deviate from those of the home and thus derogate the family and the peer group. Children learn one culture (language, values, expectations, and roles) in their home and from their peers, and the school enforces another and different culture. To stay in school the child is required to drop the home culture and, at least outwardly, manifest the characteristics expected by the school. Many children cannot do this and ultimately drop out—mentally in the primary or intermediate grades and physically as soon as local law or practice permits. Others reject their home culture.

The attempt to convert Mexican American children to the American way of life inadvertently creates a school environment that does not reflect the reality of American culture. The school with many Mexican American students usually demands conformity to super-middle-class Anglo norms of behavior; its curriculum may be more rigid than that of middle-class institutions in the same locale, although this is not so true today as it was 10 years ago.

Tracking and other practices that isolate Mexican American children not only discourage equal-status interaction between them and their Anglo peers but also reinforce the stereotypes each group holds of the other. The track system strengthens teachers' stereotypes as well and affects their work: Their expectations are lowered, and they may therefore make less effort, have lax achievement standards, and offer less encouragement. Through innumerable practices and policies, the school inadvertently discourages Mexican American success.

Many institutional mechanisms that have subordinated Mexican Americans are difficult to change. During the last decade, however, some of the most flagrant practices have been eliminated. Spanish is no longer prohibited, highly authoritarian school management is diminishing, the distinctive Mexican characteristics are no longer excluded. Unfortunately, no clear pattern of positive action has replaced the previous negative conditions. School social climates today are no more encouraging of Mexican American achievement and attainment than in the past. There were some positive school climates in 1965; there still are such exceptions today.

In two areas legal action has resulted in the promised elimination of institutional discrimination. Special education is the process of radical change in Texas and California. Federally mandated changes will remove existing bias and ensure due process. In California financial disparity between rich and poor districts will soon be abolished. The other states, especially Texas, have much to accomplish. In other areas of injustice and ethnic group subordination there has been little change. Rigid homogeneous ability grouping, curricular tracking, segregation, and overreliance on group testing have not been improved and may have deteriorated.

The situation for Chicanos in Southwestern schools remains generally negative. Some improvement has been made because of community and legal action; little improvement has been effected by professional groups. The negative school social climate engendered by the conditions detailed, plus many not mentioned, continues to encourage low achievement and early school withdrawal. Schools must not only eliminate negative subordinating mechanisms but must develop social environments that encourage achievement and attainment. We have barely begun to make school a motivating and rewarding experience for most young people, much less for Chicanos.

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5: Further Considerations

The two preceding chapters presented two explanations for the continuing failure of the schools to teach Chicanos the American way of life. This school failure to acculturate the group—and thus to aid them in the process of social integration—is justified by attributing causality to either the Mexican American culture or conditions within the Southwestern school and society. We have polarized these explanations intentionally. Neither suffices by itself. This chapter defines the interaction among the school, the Mexican Americans, and the larger society. In ever-changing ways, all three forces are responsible. Negative conditions within the school and the society, however, are principally responsible for the continuing low socioeconomic status of Chicanos.

HOME AND SCHOOL INFLUENCES

During the last decade a wealth of information was collected that statistically related measured school achievement to social and psychological conditions. Although the studies differ in method and sample, their conclusions generally reinforce each other. In 1968 the Los Angeles School Study[1] found that a number of home-related factors were statistically associated with measured achievement (Gordon et al. 1968, pp. 134–135): (1) Parental aspirations for pupils' educational attainment; of particular importance among the Chicanos were the mothers' aspirations. (2) Pupil attitudes and values. (3) Language spoken at home. (4) Family economic level, which contributes less to the performance of both ethnic groups than does family education level; the influence was greater for Anglo than for Mexican American pupils. Not surprisingly, Chicano achievement related statistically to the same social and psychological variables associated with Anglo children's success or failure in school. In general Gordon and his coinvestigators found that the successful Mexican Americans had homes, parents, and attitudes similar to those of the successful Anglos. The Gordon study, however, stressed that (1) mothers' educational and social aspirations for their children were particularly significant for Mexican Americans and (2) the standard economic measures of social class seemed less important for both groups than the educational attainment of parents. The first finding confirms the crucial influence of the Mexican American mother. The second emphasizes the importance of educational attainment. Other obvious objective indicators of class, such as income or occupation, are not so predictive; life-style of the home is determined more by educational level than by other factors.

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[1] A substudy of the Mexican American Study Project (see Introduction of this book). C. Wayne Gordon and others studied sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-grade Mexican American and Anglo students in selected Los Angeles schools.

The Coleman study provided earlier information on the school achievement of ethnic and racial groups. Although the methodology of this study has been criticized, the findings correspond to much of the other research. Of the six racial and ethnic groups ranked on achievement tests, Mexican Americans were fourth; if they were rated against Anglos, 85 percent would fall below the Anglo achievement. Low reading comprehension by Mexican Americans was marked at all levels. In the ninth grade they were three and one-third years below the so-called white sample. Verbal ability (in English) fell below white norms by two years in the sixth grade and by three and one-half years in the twelfth grade. All minority groups fall progressively more behind as they continue in school; however, there is a slight closing of the gap toward the end of high school, probably because of the high dropout (pushout) rate of low achievers.

When attitude and aspiration were measured, Coleman found that Mexican American children (1) strongly desired to stay in school, to be good students, and to attend regularly; (2) planned to go to college less commonly than Anglos; (3) held high occupational aspirations; (4) were slightly more self-depreciating than Anglos or blacks; (5) indicated feelings of poor ability to control their environments. The staff of the United States Office of Education analyzed the Coleman report and concluded: ". . . (1) family background is most important for achievement; (2) the association of family background with achievement does not diminish over the years; (3) the influence of school facilities, curriculum, and staff that is independent of family background is small; (4) teachers' characteristics account for most of the differences in school factors that are related to achievement; (5) the social composition of the student body is more highly related to achievement, independently of the students' own social background, than is any school factor; (6) attitudes concerning control or responsiveness of the environment are highly related to achievement, but variations in school characteristics have little influence on these attitudes" (Mayeske 1967). About 20 percent of the difference in educational achievement was attributed to the kinds of schools Chicanos attended. The Coleman study and the Mayeske analysis stress both sides of the coin. Family background is the most important variable associated with school achievement. For example, as the educational level of parents goes up, the school achievement of children also rises. This influence of family attributes continues over the school years, and the continuing positive relationship demonstrates that the school is unsuccessful as an intervening force. Personal orientations are also important. For example, students who feel they have little control over their environment—that they are powerless, that all is chance or fate—seem to achieve less well than those who feel they can manipulate their social environment. Such powerlessness is an attribute of low socioeconomic status and probably is a cultural adaptation to reality. The closed social system of the poor is almost impossible to manipulate. Like many others, Mayeske finds that school characteristics, at least as measured by Coleman, have little effect. The Los Angeles and Coleman studies paint a dim picture of the school's influence. But Coleman did find that the social class and ethnic composition of the school are important if home social background is not considered. Teachers are viewed as the most important school influence.

All the studies are limited; their methods restrict them to the obvious and the superficial. No one is able to analyze the many human variables associated with school social environment—teacher-student interaction patterns, formal and informal curriculums. Chicanos want to do well in school—but they don't. If most studies are to be believed, the school can't do much. We question if the investigations are adequate to describe the profound and complex pattern of interacting influences in the real situation. It is far too easy to stop with statistical relationships and to assume causality from them.

Reports that the traditional Mexican American culture devalues education or sees it as a prerogative of the aristocracy have little relevance today. Although there is no systematic research to verify it, there is every indication that in general Chicanos believe a good education is a prerequisite of upward social mobility. Education in the abstract seems well accepted, but minority-group views of the school as an institution may be quite different. For example, the San Antonio study investigated student and faculty perceptions of school and classroom. In their sample of predominantly Mexican American students Cervantes and Jones (1976, p. 98) found that "the greater proportion of students in both the low- and middle-income groups perceived the classroom as restrictive, dull, and boring. The majority of teachers disagreed with all three statements." Most Chicanos in San Antonio apparently found little intrinsic reward either in the Edgewood experimental schools or in the classrooms of control schools. These findings are supported by other studies that indicate children's attitudes become more negative as the school year progresses (Neale, Gill, and Tismer 1970, pp. 232-237), and disadvantaged children's evaluations of teachers and curriculums become increasingly less favorable as they progress through the years of school (Neale and Proshek 1967, pp. 238–244).

The Coleman report, the Los Angeles School Study, and the Civil Rights Study did not question parents directly about their views of education or perceptions of the school; however, parents' willingness to support their children's education financially is an important indicator. Parents who provide encyclopedias for their children do so to promote education and encourage success in school, although the purchase may be an economic burden for the family. The Los Angeles study of sixth, ninth, and twelfth graders found that more Anglos than Mexican Americans had encyclopedias at home for all three grade levels. Yet no fewer than 55 percent and as many as 79 percent of the minority-group homes had encyclopedias (Wenkert 1966, p. 33). In a rural agricultural setting in California, about 50 percent of Mexican American eighth graders and 70 percent of Mexican American twelfth graders said they had encyclopedias at home (California State Department of Education 1965, p. 40). In both studies Mexican Americans in higher grade levels approximated the Anglos in the number of homes with encyclopedias. This may indicate low sales resistance, but it may also indicate parental willingness to do whatever they can to further their children's education.

Interviews of school personnel supported the thesis that Chicanos think of education positively and have high educational goals for their children. Anderson and Anderson (1968) found that Spanish American children in New Mexico wanted good grades and received as much educational encouragement from their parents as Anglo children did. Many interviewees, however, reported that Mexican American parents are unrealistic about educational goals and are uninformed about the number of years and the nature of the schooling required to reach those goals. The relationship between education as an abstract idea and schooling as the required institutional procedure is recognized by middle-class individuals, but low-status Mexican Americans often fail to realize the all-important difference.

Historically, poor Chicano parents thought of the school as an institutional arm of the dominant American society. They accepted it as a necessary and legally instituted entity but rarely understood its policies and practices and the behavior of its staff. During the last decade some members of the Chicano community have examined and criticized the school. But the majority continue to be baffled by the actions of teachers and administrators. The poor still lack the skills and experience essential to meet the expectations of the school. Middle-class parents share the school's expectations: What is expected of them by the institution they expect of themselves. Although most poor Chicano parents believe the school is staffed by highly trained professionals who have the best interests of their children at heart, they often fail to recognize that their children's success in school depends greatly on their own appropriate participation. This failing places children at a serious disadvantage. For example, parents may not understand the necessity for attending PTA meetings or making regular inquiries about the progress of their children. The lack of participation shatters the expectations of many school people, who commented that because Mexican American parents rarely share in school activities, they are not concerned about their children's education. It would be wiser to assume that many Mexican Americans don't know how to participate or don't see the need. Because of the dearth of communication between the school and the barrio, the average poor family does not learn the necessary steps to support its children. Schools rarely modify their PTAS, or other activities, to encourage meaningful interaction with the community. While suburbanites expect, accept, and are familiar with these activities, many Chicanos regularly shun such meaningless experiences, which they may even find degrading.

The mental withdrawal of many Mexican American children, which usually begins in the intermediate grades, perplexes educators. One explanation is that the child finds the intermediate grades too difficult, the curriculum too abstract. Educators theorize that Mexican American children cannot cope with abstractions and that schools should concentrate on concrete information. Others contend that mental withdrawal and the resulting poor achievement derive from the children's recognition of their own chances in life—what the future offers—and the influence of their socially awakening peers. Undoubtedly there is much truth in the latter point of view. A third theory is that low-status minority-group parents share the objectives of the school more during the primary grades than in the later years. It is reported that they see the role of the school as twofold: to teach children to behave and to teach them basic skills. Because the primary grades concentrate on these two aspects, parents are less disappointed and more supportive at the primary level than at higher grades. As the curriculum diverges from these objectives and begins to delve into areas considered irrelevant and unconnected to life, the home may fail to support the school to the previous degree.

The curriculum and authority structure become progressively more rigid from the first grade to the twelfth. Even in the most traditional systems the primary grades are more flexible than the higher levels. As the grade-level requirements and the acquisition of information become more strictly defined and controlled, school seems less relevant. This may be true for all children, but poor children are ill-equipped to cope with the new requirements. By the time a middle-class child reaches the intermediate grades, a system of support, reinforcement, and reward has been well established by family and peers. Many middle-class parents carefully (but unconsciously) prepare their children to expect little intrinsic reward from the academic aspects of school; they establish that the reward is future entrance into society at an acceptable level. They also teach that while the academic subjects are essentially hurdles to be jumped, benefits are gained from social, athletic, or other extracurricular activities. This suggests that middle-class parents teach their children to stay in school by encouraging them to find reward in its nonacademic aspects. School people may disapprove of this perspective, but it appears to correspond to the school's expectations and encourages the belief that schooling guarantees future social success. Poor parents do not generally support the proposal that school is a series of steps to be climbed regardless of the boredom or unpleasantness involved, nor are they able to guarantee their children significant future social rewards for perseverance in, and graduation from, school. Their lack of funds for higher education, and thus the means for paving the way to higher-status occupations, influences their attitude.

During the last decade many primary classes have lost their flexibility. With the increasing demand for basic skills, these early grades have become more structured and less humanistic. The convergence of expectations and curricular relevance customary at this level may be disappearing. If so, we can expect a decrease in basic skill acquisition among the poor: The intrinsic reward and parental support may diminish with the increasing rigidity. In efforts to help the poor Chicanos catch up, we may be pushing them farther behind.

Junior high schools, often located some distance from the barrio, may be regarded by Mexican American parents quite differently from the neighborhood elementary institution. The warm, personal, accepting, and flexible elementary school is replaced by the impersonal and mechanistic secondary school. The self-contained classroom usually disappears, supplanted by subject classes with special teachers. School policies as well as the content of the courses are not well understood by poor parents. They do not comprehend the tracking common at this level or its significance to their children's future life chances. Unfamiliar and uncomfortable with the impersonal secondary school, they either fail to interact or do so in ways that violate the staff's expectations of appropriate parental participation. They do not realize that they might acceptably influence staff judgments and actions concerning their children (Cicourel and Kitsuse 1963).

In two New Mexico communities Anderson and Safar (1967) investigated the views of Spanish Americans, Indians, and Anglos on the adequacy of local school programs. They reported that "the Spanish-American families interviewed in both communities evidenced the highest level of satisfaction with the present educational program despite the fact that their children do poorly in the schools in comparison with their Anglo classmates. In view of previous findings that demonstrate a ubiquitous lack of confidence in the ability of Spanish-

American children to achieve the same goals expected of Anglo children it may be that the Spanish-Americans and Indians in the Southwest attribute the failure of their children in the schools to a lack of ability rather than to inadequacies in the schools' programs. On the other hand, school administrators and teachers . . . perceive the educational program to be most adequate for Anglo pupils, less adequate for Spanish-American pupils, and least adequate for Indian pupils." Thus Anderson and Safar found that Spanish Americans thought their school and its programs adequate, which may have indicated a lack of knowledge on the part of the minority group or that Mexican Americans in many small Southwestern cities – usually under Anglo political, economic, and social domination – might have been unwilling to say anything that would rock the boat. Most Chicano discontent with schools and confrontation of authority have occurred in metropolitan areas.

Many persons have speculated on Mexican American children's perceptions of formal educational institutions, and a few investigators have studied them. Their findings are contradictory: There is no one Southwestern school and no one Mexican American view. The social climate of institutions and their reputations in the community influence feelings and reactions. Because there is no homogeneous minority-group culture, each area is different.

In the late 1950s Demos (1962) administered a questionnaire to 105 Mexican American and 210 Anglo secondary school students. Of 29 attitudinal variables 14 related to students' perceptions of school practices, social climate, and teachers – in other words, to school but not to education in the abstract sense. Significant differences between the groups were found in 7 of the items. Mexican American students thought teachers less understanding, the staff less concerned about students, the administration less helpful, and themselves less willing to seek counseling and having less freedom to disagree with teachers than did the Anglo students. Mexican American students also showed more interest in dropping out, saw gangs as more desirable, and considered good school attendance less important than Anglos did. The differences were smaller when the two groups were matched according to age, grade, sex, social class, and IQ. In most areas the mean scores of the two groups were not significantly different, but in all but one variable Mexican Americans perceived school more negatively than Anglos did. We generally concur with Demos's findings, but would add that many minority-group youngsters see teachers as prejudiced and discriminatory toward their group.

Other sources of information about Mexican American perceptions of school are the so-called dropout studies, which reveal the expected relationships between social class, IQ, academic achievement, school behavior, and dropping out. Some of the studies report only the percentages of loss and the superficial reasons for leaving that are given by students or assumed by school officials.

In 1953 Wilson studied 462 Mexican American dropouts from 6 Texas high schools. His questionnaire provided a thorough analysis of students' perceptions of school (Table 50). One of the two principal reasons for leaving was economic; the other was lack of interest in school. It is impossible to say what percentage of the sample would have found the means to meet their financial problems – would have joined the Armed Forces or taken a job – if school had been an intrin-

Table 50: Reasons Given by Dropouts for Leaving Six Texas Schools

	Males	*Females*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Family needed financial help	52	34	86	20.4
Not interested	45	33	78	18.5
To take a job	28	6	34	8.1
To enter armed forces	28	2	30	7.1
Failing	17	12	29	6.9
Moved too often	16	10	26	6.2
Marriage	8	17	25	6.0
Needed money	18	3	21	5.0
Needed at home	5	12	17	4.0
Work too difficult	5	7	12	2.9
Preferred to work	3	8	11	2.6
My illness	3	8	11	2.6
Family thought I should quit	5	4	9	2.1
Others	20	12	32	7.6
Total reasons	253	168	421	100.0
No reasons given	22	19	41	
Total of sample	275	187	462	

Source: Wilson 1953, Table 21.

sically rewarding experience. These same students were asked, "In what manner could the school have aided you more?" Their responses proved that they considered their high school experience unpleasant: 49 percent felt the teachers could have helped them either by being more friendly, more understanding, and less prejudiced or by giving them more individual attention; 14 percent indicated that being less segregated or having "more democracy" would have helped; 11 percent would have liked the other students to be friendlier; 11 percent thought the school could have helped them by providing more time for study and more athletics. The responses of the remaining 15 percent were not recorded.

Wilson also reported on the schools' concern for the student withdrawals. Although the school faculties were aware of the intentions of most of the students, in only one-third of the cases investigated were attempts made by the staff to keep the students in school. That nothing was done in two-thirds of the cases suggests a lack of concern.

Later research on dropouts corroborated Wilson's study. In 1969 Wages, Thomas, and Kuvlesky studied 74 Mexican American dropouts from 4 school districts in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas—an area included in Wilson's work. Although this study involved a smaller number of students and was restricted to one area of the state, the findings were similar despite 16 intervening years: (1) School-related conditions and financial circumstances were perceived to be the most important reasons for dropping out; girls put slightly more emphasis on the former and boys on the latter. (2) Few respondents indicated the following to be significant reasons for dropping out: social pressure from inside the school (teacher, principal, or student) or outside (family, friends), and marriage. When the research team studied the origin of social pressure to stay in or return to school, they found that few respondents received encouragement from any source to remain in school, but after leaving most of them encountered social pressures from various sources to return to school. The few who experienced pressure to remain in school usually named parents as the source. The school seemed uninterested. The researchers found a familiar pattern: relatively high student educational aspirations; financial problems; little effort on the part of the school to keep potential dropouts; and, finally, withdrawal from the school.

The Coleman study indicated that Mexican Americans have more negative attitudes toward school than do their Southwestern Anglo counterparts: 37 percent of the Mexican Americans, contrasted with 47 percent of the Anglos, would "do anything to stay in school"; 59 percent of the Mexican Americans and 69 percent of the Anglos had no willful absences (Coleman et al., p. 25). Although these responses give no reasons, they imply differences between the two groups in their perceptions of school and their desire to stay in it.

In contrast with other research, the Los Angeles School Study staff found that a slightly higher proportion of Mexican American than Anglo children said they like school (Wenkert 1966, p. 63). This was especially true in the twelfth grade but less so in the ninth, which probably reflects a culling out of dissatisfied students in the lower grades. In this same study, in response to the statement "I usually enjoy my classes here at school," some startling differences were found between elementary and secondary school students. The percentages of children of both ethnic groups who disagreed with the statement increased from sixth to ninth to twelfth grade, which may demonstrate that children of both groups find school more intellectually rewarding in the lower grades and progressively less enjoyable. Or it may suggest that older children are more aware of the authority structure or classroom climate. It was found that the percentage of Mexican American children from "lower blue-collar" (unskilled or semiskilled) homes who stated they usually enjoyed their classes was 93.1 percent in the sixth grade, 87.2 percent in the ninth grade, and 88 percent in the twelfth grade. The Los Angeles School Study group estimated a 50 percent withdrawal rate among Mexican Americans in some of the schools they investigated. This study, like others, suggested that the school retains those children whose values, aspirations, conduct, and home life more closely correspond to those of the majority social class.

In a study of Chicano dropouts in Utah, Byrne concluded (1971, pp. 7–9):

1. Nearly one in every two of the Mexican American children who enter the secondary schools in Salt Lake City drops out.

2. Dropping out of school and low school achievement do not appear to relate to either large family size or low educational attainment of parents [thus contradicting other studies].

3. The older a Mexican American student is, the more likely is the possibility of dropping out of school.

4. Mexican American students who receive poor evaluations of academic progress tend to be more likely candidates for dropping out of school.

5. Mexican American dropouts have very negative attitudes about the schools. After leaving, they generally have little confidence in their ability to use those skills that were necessary for school achievement.

6. There seems little probability that Mexican American dropouts will be persuaded to return to the schools for more education.

Chicano protests and confrontations during the late sixties are conclusive evidence of extreme discontent. The litany of complaints demanding relevance and elimination of institutional discrimination should have demonstrated the problem. The cry of protest might have been *¡educación si; escuelas no!* ("Education yes; schools no!") Both child and parent approve of education as an abstract goal. Yet too many do not find school a rewarding experience or cannot afford to continue. If the problem is purely monetary, perhaps scholarships or other financial aids will resolve the situation. If not, other considerations must be investigated and other remedies found. The analysis of student perceptions of personal reward from school is a promising avenue for study and subsequent action.

SOCIAL FORCES

Even the best school curriculums may conflict with the home. School authority can be oppressive (or in some cases weak to the point of encouraging chaos). Teachers may have negative feelings. If the school is nonrewarding to students, especially to the culturally different, why do they put up with it, perform adequately, and behave in institutionally acceptable ways? The crucial element is not solely the relationship between home and school but also that between the minority group and the local society. Future reward in the form of acceptable occupational and social status keeps children in school. Considerations of whether a community is socially open or closed, is castelike or not, is discriminatory or not, or has restricted or nonrestricted roles and statuses for its minority group become as important as the curriculum and other components in the school itself. Perhaps they are more important.

Most educators interviewed for this study reported that middle-class children in general are successful in school. The relationship between school achievement and attendance and social class is well established. Middle-class Mexican Americans are no exception, although they may have certain problems not common to majority-group children. Poor Chicanos are not usually successful, but a few children find a great deal of reward in school; for them, some form of continued involvement with the institution is more pleasing than available alternatives. Association with their peers might be the principal benefit; athletics or other extracurricular activities may be gratifying; academic excellence or the curricular content may satisfy them to the degree necessary to counterbalance the advantages of withdrawing. If the secondary school classrooms observed are representative of other Southwestern schools, this last group is very small. The high school curriculum seldom provides the intrinsic reward of intellectual stimulation; classes have little meaning or relevance. Those low-status minority-group children who find school more rewarding than alternatives learn to conform to the expectations of the school by studying, turning in work assignments, taking tests, and behaving acceptably. The child who finds insufficient reward or compensation in school will not bother to conform even to this minimum degree.

The relationship among community factors, school performance, and athletics was described by Wollenberg (1976, pp. 138–139): "Baseball star Jackie Robinson grew up in Pasadena [California] in the 1920s and 1930s and recalled that the town regarded blacks 'as intruders. We saw movies from segregated balconies, swam in the municipal pool only on Tuesdays, and were permitted at the YMCA only one night a week. Restaurant doors were slammed in our faces.' When the Robinsons moved to a new home on Pepper Street, some of their white neighbors circulated a petition protesting the presence of a 'colored family.' But Robinson did remember a white school teacher 'who judged me as an individual and not by the color of my skin.' He acknowledged that he did not work hard in the classroom because his older brothers and their friends 'had studied hard and wound up as porters, elevator operators, taxi drivers, bellhops. I came to the conclusion that long hours over the books were a waste of time.'

"But the Pasadena schools did provide Jackie Robinson with one opportunity – in school athletics. He regarded sports as 'the big break in the wall of segregation about me. In primary and high school white boys treated me as an equal. I was their star. . . . They made me a professional at eight by bringing me lunches as a bribe to play on their teams.' Robinson earned varsity letters in football, baseball, basketball, and track at both John Muir Technical High School and Pasadena Junior College." Jackie Robinson's story has numerous Chicano counterparts. Extracurricular activities may be the only intrinsic reward of school. Athletics can provide both a present benefit and a promise of future reward sufficient to encourage perseverance and acceptable academic performance.

For most poor Chicanos little satisfaction of any kind is found in school. Nevertheless, if high school graduation guaranteed a future social or economic reward, youngsters would tend to persist and fulfill minimum standards. Most educators stress that high school graduation results in preferential treatment on the job market. National statistics demonstrate that graduates earn more and have higher-status occupations than do those who fail to finish. But what is true nationally may not be true locally, especially if ethnic minorities are considered separately. For many Mexican Americans high school graduation does not guarantee either economic or social advantage. Poor Chicano youngsters who gauge the local job market carefully are likely to come to the valid conclusion that the kinds of work available to their ethnic group in their community do not require a high school diploma. They can plainly see that others who have dropped out are earning as much as they can expect if they continue in school. They observe that Chicanos hold the same kinds of jobs regardless of their level of schooling; high school graduates work in the fields alongside dropouts. In some geographic areas certain skilled or semiskilled occupations that require a high school diploma are open to Mexican Americans. Many of these, however, do not pay substantially higher wages than the unskilled jobs. In many sections of the Southwest, especially in Texas, salaries are unbelievably low. Educators, in analyzing the reasons for the high dropout rate and low academic achievement of Mexican Americans, should examine the local job opportunities and discrimination as well as the social roles and statuses of the minority group within the community. They should recognize that "the major inducement of educational achievement in our society is the promise of future occupational reward. If, however, it is known in advance that these rewards will be largely withheld from certain socio-economic and racial groups, then it is unlikely that high levels of educational achievement can be sustained in such groups. Thus, academic performance may be devalued because the young of such groups see no relationship between it and the realities of the future" (Cloward and Jones 1962, p. 2).

A great incentive for Mexican Americans to stay in school is their desire for a military career. Although a high school diploma is not mandatory for enlistment, graduates usually get preferential treatment because they can enter the branch and specialty of their choice. In certain areas a military career may be the principal socially acceptable and legitimate means for low-status, but ambitious, Chicano young people to improve their position.

The local school, related to the community it serves, inadvertently produces exactly the kind of "Mexicans" demanded by the local economic and social systems. If docile, low-skilled workers are needed, the school provides them. In rural areas, where the population is composed of isolated and parochial groups, youngsters are hampered by not being aware of the greater rewards and higher status afforded their ethnic group outside the immediate area; they evaluate their future on the basis of the restricted local model. Schools do not inform their students of opportunities available elsewhere. Unfortunately, urban conditions are often similar. The major cities of the Southwest have a "dual caste" society: a multiethnic, well-off segment that fully participates in the socioeconomic system and a ghetto-barrio segment that consists primarily of blacks and Chicanos who do not participate fully.

This relationship between open and closed social systems and school participation may be the best explanation for the extreme variations in median years of schooling among Chicanos in different areas of the Southwest (Table 1). Socially open communities provide diverse roles and more occupational slots for Mexican Americans. There is less discrimination and more opportunity. Chicano youngsters recognize this and stay in school to reap the future reward of entrance into society at relatively high levels. Even in the most closed communities some low-status Mexican Americans persist in school because some aspect of continued participation is more attractive than available alternatives, or because they believe high school graduation promises economic or social reward. These students often migrate to more socially open sections of the country.

SUMMARY

Each Mexican American student weighs the advantages of staying in school against the benefits of withdrawing. There is no one perception of school, but the minority attitude is generally more negative than that of the middle class. It is argued that in too many cases this negative view is well grounded. It is suggested that Chicanos generally maintain positive feelings about education in the abstract but tend to view school negatively. Educators who want to keep poor Chicano pupils in school should seriously consider the social environment of their school and the social or economic rewards realistically available to minority-group youngsters in their community.

Most poor Mexican Americans flee the school early—first mentally, later physically. They replenish the "generational poor" caught in the continuing cycle of dependence. The school cannot provide the needed future reward; it cannot change the children, as has been attempted. Although it may be impossible for educators to modify local society, it is possible for them to make school intrinsically rewarding; however, this demands strong, affirmative action. Educators *can* make school more rewarding in the academic as well as nonacademic areas.

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6: Efforts to Adjust the Child

The preceding pages have traced the history of the schooling of Mexican Americans in the Southwest, detailed the school's remarkable lack of success in teaching them the knowledge and skills of the dominant society, and provided two explanations for the school's apparent failure. Chapters 6 and 7 examine what has been accomplished by Southwestern schools during the last decade. This chapter describes school efforts based on the cultural deprivation perspective: Compensatory programs and remedial education are examined as well as efforts to equalize school facilities and meet the special needs of Chicanos through curricular and staff improvements. What has been the effect of school programs intended to adjust the child to fit the school? Have such efforts resulted in higher achievement and attainment? Chapter 7 explores the other, socioeconomic perspective and the activities that modify the school rather than the child. How successful have these efforts been in producing a school social climate that encourages the Chicano poor? The two approaches overlap; the distinctions are not so clear as we make them.

The availability of federal financial assistance spurred Southwestern educators to develop special school programs, usually compensatory and remedial, to aid Mexican American children. Despite the limited local financial resources, some schools had already begun to develop experimental programs. The McAteer Projects in California, the Hogg Foundation in Texas, and other private and public sources provided support before the enactment of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Economic Opportunity Act. Additionally, schools endeavored to improve the quality and quantity of instructional and support services. Many poor Chicanos were served by grossly inferior schools. Efforts were made to upgrade such schools, and special activities to meet the needs of Mexican Americans were established. Compensatory and remedial education, efforts to upgrade, and special services did not represent a significant institutional change. They were essentially efforts to modify the student or to make improvements, not substantive changes, in the school. Such efforts were aligned with the plan to equalize educational opportunity and access by providing similar schools for all children, whatever their backgrounds.

The purpose of compensatory education programs is to remedy, reorient, and remodel culturally deprived children to make up for their inadequacies when they are compared with middle-class children. Acceptance of the idea of cultural disadvantage provides the rationale for action to overcome real or assumed deficiencies. Gordon and Wilkerson stated (1966, p. 159): "It is not inappropriate that the programs of special education for the disadvantaged have been described as compensatory. They are attempts to compensate for, to overcome, the effects of hostile, different, or indifferent backgrounds. Their aim is to bring children from these backgrounds up to a level where they can be reached by *existing* educational practices and it is in terms of this aim that we tend to judge their success or lack of it. . . . The unexpressed purpose of most compensatory programs is to make disadvantaged children as much as possible like the kinds of children with whom the school has been [or perceives itself as] successful, and our standard of educational success is how well they approximate middle-class children in school performance." These compensatory and remedial programs are referred to here as the adjust-the-child approaches; they attempt to phase in the out-of-phase child. The overwhelming majority of special programs for Mexican Americans are of this kind. These school efforts have not substantially modified the Southwestern school; they were not intended to. Their purpose was to modify the Mexican American.

COMPENSATORY AND REMEDIAL PROGRAMS

Programs to overcome Mexican American assumed cognitive and psychocultural deficiencies constitute the majority of special efforts by the school. These are obvious attempts to adjust the child and the family to the middle-class-oriented school. Most rely on traditional approaches and are in a sense efforts to give Chicanos extra instruction in what they had previously failed to grasp. This section does not attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of particular efforts; however, assessments by other researchers are reported.

During the sixties the state departments of education in California and Texas reported on specific programs for poor children. Table 51 gives percentages of activities provided under Title I of the Elementary

Table 51: Activities and Services Provided under Title I of Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1965–66*

	Primary and secondary objectives combined	
Texas		
Reading instruction	76	
Language arts instruction	46	
Mathematics instruction	21	
Basic academic instruction	41	
English as a Second Language	26	
Physical fitness	16	
Guidance services	45	
	Primary objective	*Secondary objective*
California		
Remediation and correction	47.3	21.4
Guidance and counseling	5.1	9.8
Cultural enrichment	10.3	12.8
Attitude change	1.8	6.4
Prevention of dropout	0.04	0.3

* Stated as percentages of all Title I projects.

Source: Texas Education Agency 1966, Table 35; California State Department of Education 1966b, Table 1.

and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) for the 1965–66 school year. Texas combined activities rated as primary and secondary objectives to give total percentages; California reported primary and secondary objectives separately. Texas revealed some shift from proposed to accomplished activities. The ranked order of the five most prevalent Title I activities in Texas schools was (1) providing reading and language arts instruction, (2) providing health and physical education services, (3) extending guidance services, (4) strengthening teachers' inservice training materials relevant to school environment, and (5) providing instruction in basic academic subjects (Texas Education Agency 1966). Activities (1), (2), (5), and possibly (3) were reported to be generally remedial, although extending guidance services usually involved increasing personnel and testing; thus its purpose was to improve school facilities and staff. With the possible exception of guidance and counseling, all of California's listed projects were remedial or compensatory. In all five Southwestern states the most prevalent Title I activities reported in the sixties were adjust-the-child projects. Except for the shift away from cultural enrichment, this pattern continues to the present. The following section describes activities for the 1975–76 school year. Almost all special school activities are based on compensatory and remedial approaches; there is no well-established alternative approach.

NIE Study

In 1976 a comprehensive and substantive report was released entitled *Evaluating Compensatory Education: An Interim Report on the National Compensatory Education Study*. This work was the result of efforts by the National Institute of Education (NIE) to describe and analyze Title I of ESEA funding. The report (subsequently referred to as the NIE Study) is valuable because it details the scope of compensatory education, the range of services, the characteristics of students who receive services, and the characteristics of compensatory instruction. Unfortunately, it does not release data by state or refer especially to Mexican Americans. (For more information on the federal effort in education, see Berke and Kirst 1972.)

The NIE Study reported that its major educational effort for the poor, Title I of ESEA, represented an expenditure of $2 billion in 1976, or 3 percent of the total national expenditure for education. This is a significant contribution. On the other hand, state expenditures for special programs for the poor represented only 1 percent of the total national expenditure. Ninety percent of the country's school districts received Title I funding.

Although Title I programs are commonly referred to as compensatory education, they include funding of activities that do not fit our definition. Some funded programs are noninstructional support activities geared to improve the quality or quantity of school facilities or services. The bulk of funding, however, goes to activities whose goal is to overcome children's deficiencies and raise their level of achievement.

Federal compensatory programs under Title I involve many students, teachers, and schools. The NIE Study reported (pp. xvi–xvii) that (1) an average of 90 percent of the schools classified by LEAS[1] as eligible received funds; (2) an average of 57 percent of the children classified as eligible participated in Title I programs; (3) approximately 5.9 million public school students in grades K to 8 received Title I or state-funded compensatory education services – this is 19.5 percent of all public school children enrolled in those grades; (4) 116,218 non-public school students, or approximately 5 percent of the total enrollment in non-public schools, received Title I services; (5) of all public elementary school teachers in 1975–76, 111,087, or 9.5 percent of the total, were involved for some portion of their time in providing compensatory instruction; (6) according to data from district applications Title I funds paid the salaries of an estimated 8 percent of the elementary school teachers in these districts; and (7) Title I funds paid the salaries of an estimated 54 percent of all teachers' aides in Title I districts.

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[1] Local education agency – the local school district in federal shorthand.

Services provided by districts receiving Title I funds vary. The use of the money depends on the needs of the district. It is related to the local fiscal support of schools and, in general, to socioeconomic conditions within the community served by the district.

The national average share of the Title I budget spent on instructional services was 76 percent. When districts are classified by economic status (average family income), however, lower-income districts spend 20 percent less of the Title I funds on instructional services. The poorer the district, the less Title I money goes to instructionally related services. More money is apparently spent on health, community services, and other support activities. In poor districts less money is spent on direct instruction and more to rectify school deficiencies. Further, the NIE Study demonstrated that poorer school districts spend substantially less per Title I participant than do wealthier districts. The relationship is clear. The less a district spends per pupil, the more it must rely on federal assistance. The least money goes to districts with the lowest family income. The bulk of school finance must be from federal sources. The poor living in poor districts receive less money even when federal dollars are added. Federal funds do not equalize.

Breaking down the instructional service budget, the NIE Study reported 53 percent supported reading improvement activities, 19 percent mathematics, and 10 percent language arts. The remaining 18 percent supported other nonspecified instructional services (p. xvii).

Not all of these compensatory education services were delivered to all compensatory education students. It was estimated that the following proportion of Title I students received compensatory instruction in the various subject areas (p. xix):

50 percent in reading
44 percent in mathematics
35 percent in language arts
14 percent in social and cultural studies
12 percent in science
5 percent in special education and learning disabilities
3 percent in English as a Second Language

Most Title I students receive instruction in more than one area. Our observations suggest the NIE Study is misleading; we estimate some 90 percent of Mexican American Title I students receive compensatory and remedial instruction in some combination of language arts and reading.

The average time spent in compensatory instruction is five and one-half hours per week. This is an average of 25 percent of the total school time available (pp. xix–xx). Remedial reading, mathematics, and language arts are the subjects most often provided to Title I students. The NIE Study estimated (p. xx):

1. Eighty-five percent of the compensatory education students in reading, 66 percent of those in mathematics, and 63 percent of those in language arts programs receive this instruction outside their regular classrooms.

2. The average size of the class in which compensatory education students receive compensatory instruction is nine students for reading and fourteen students for language arts and mathematics.

3. The time spent in compensatory education classes is four hours per week for reading and language arts and three hours per week for mathematics.

In the Title I programs observed, the mathematics, reading, and other remedial activities are rarely based on more relevant, or even different, curricular content and method. The most apparent difference is that remediation is undertaken in smaller groups. The programs are often taught by aides or assistant teachers; whether they are adequately prepared for this task is a crucial question.

The NIE Study reported on the children served – the ultimate recipients of Title I funds. They found that students "are concentrated in grades 1 to 6, with similar proportions in each of these grades. Very few are in junior or senior high school." This follows the basic assumption of the compensatory-remedial approach: Intervention must be undertaken during the child's early formative years. In agreement with the national tendency for poverty and minority status to overlap, the study found a significantly higher concentration of minority children among compensatory education students than in total enrollment in Title I districts. They estimated that (1) 54 percent of compensatory education students are white, compared with 75 percent of the total enrollment; (2) 34 percent are black, compared with 19 percent of the total enrollment; and (3) 10 percent are Spanish-surname, compared with 5 percent of the total enrollment. Chicanos and blacks are more than doubly overrepresented among the poor. Yet within programs designed to help poor children, there are only about twice as many as their percentage in the district would indicate. Funds are apparently not reaching their target; minority children appear to be underrepresented among the poor who are receiving Title I support.

The research staff of the study attempted to evaluate the success of the remedial and compensatory activities funded under Title I. The major reason for undertaking the study was to report to Congress on the effectiveness of national efforts to raise academic achievement. (For more information on compensatory education and achievement see Coulson 1976; Wargo et al. 1971 and 1972; Thomas and Pelavin 1976.) Despite over a decade of experience, the government was unable to reach significant conclusions about achievement; its only conclusion was that it *could not reach a conclusion*. The following statement was submitted by NIE:

> The national surveys, conducted annually from 1968 to 1971, were developed to identify the impact on student achievement of all Title I services; documenting the characteristics of services per se was not an objective. Two problems arose as a consequence of this focus on measuring the relationship between Title I and student achievement at the national level. First, in order to provide summary measures of the effects of Title I on achievement, the variability in delivery of services had to be ignored. Second,

> the request for achievement data confronted the reluctance or inability of school districts to provide it. Usable achievement data were obtained for less than 10% of the sample. Because of this lack of achievement data, the surveys were viewed as failures by the sponsors. As a result, the analysis of the first survey was not reported until 1970, the 1969 survey analysis was never released, the 1970 results consist of 1,200 tables which were never interpreted, and the 1971 data were never analyzed at all.

NIE is planning strategy to collect the data necessary to determine if federal efforts to aid the disadvantaged actually improve achievement.

Preschool programs

Almost all districts with high concentrations of poor Mexican Americans have some kind of preschool education—day-care centers, nursery schools, Head Start. Regardless of name, they are a child's first formal school experience. Most of the programs observed or reported are based on the compensatory education assumption of early intervention to overcome the deficiencies of home socialization. Although there are other objectives, programs for Mexican Americans usually have a basic desire to prepare the disadvantaged child to accept the school and prosper in it.

Preschool programs vary greatly; their effectiveness is difficult to assess because of the absence of specified objectives and the lack of adequate instruments to measure achievement in such young children. Almost all programs are intended to improve preschool children's reading readiness and to increase their language ability in general. Some familiarize them with classroom procedures (getting along, socializing, working with school materials, listening attentively). Many programs for Mexican Americans are geared to teach English.

The curriculum of most programs is drawn from the dominant culture with just enough of what is assumed to be Mexican American culture to encourage the child to feel comfortable. In several preschool programs observed in Texas, most of the curriculum and educational toys were middle class. The bicycles, which were durable and specially made for rough treatment, looked like government issue. A few pre-first-grade classes are reported to have some aspects of a bicultural program, but they still emphasize the need to prepare the child for school. In Laredo, Texas, a small group of Chicanos tried to change the names of preschool centers to reflect the populations they serve. Raggedy Ann Center, for example, was thought to be of Anglo middle-class origin. The movement faced strong opposition because school and community leaders (most of them Mexican American themselves) contended that day-care centers were to prepare the child for school; school to them had to be English-speaking and reflect the dominant society's orientations. Although there are bilingual preschools, most are monocultural and monolingual. Recently these monocultural preschools have attempted to incorporate a small amount of Mexican culture.

Teaching English to monolingual Spanish speakers has long been recognized as a prime objective. During the 1960s the most common practice was to use English as a Second Language (ESL) techniques and English oral language development. In the 1970s, because of the increased emphasis on bilingual education, a new approach has been to develop oral language skills in the child's dominant language. The assumption is that if the child prepares to read in the home language, that skill will readily transfer to the English language (Barrera-Vasquez 1953; Saville and Troike 1973). Today we are moving toward the use of Spanish as a bridge to English. In the past direct and obvious English instruction was the norm.

Preschool programs for Mexican Americans have a long history. In the late 1930s, after finding that Chicano children in New Mexico had vocabulary ranges in Spanish equal to those of English-speaking children in their native tongue, Tireman (1941) developed a minimum English vocabulary list that he used in the pre-first-grade section of his experimental schools. Excellent results were reported (Ulibarri 1959, p. 18). Experimenting in nine towns in New Mexico during the same period, Herr found that first and second graders with a year of preschool language instruction achieved much better than the control group that had no instruction. Average IQ scores for the experimental group were raised more than 30 points in one year (from 66 to 99.9); the control group gained only 10 points (1944, p. 135). As early as 1922 Los Angeles city schools had preschool English language training programs (Sumners 1939). McAllen, Texas, was another site of early experimentations, and substantial gains in achievement were reported there in the 1920s. Seventy percent of the experimental group were promoted from the first to the second grade, a situation almost unknown in Texas schools at that time. Apparently the early experience had a sustained effect on achievement. The children in the third and fourth grades who had been in the experimental class, and were promoted the first year they were in school, made higher grades than did those pupils who had spent two years in the first grade.

In the late 1950s a number of Texas districts experimented with preschool ESL programs. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) gave significant impetus to such programs by establishing the "Little Schools of 400" (named for the 400-word basic vocabulary taught). In 1960 the state supported additional programs with an allocation of $480,000. By 1963 Texas reported (Kennedy 1963, p. 14) that of the 16,532 children participating in the ESL pre-first-grade program in 1961 and 1962, only 19 percent were retained in the first grade for two years. The other children were promoted at the end of the first grade. Of a control group of 10,817 first graders who did not have the program, 80 percent repeated the first grade. Reports of the influence of preschool ESL programs on the class work of Mexican American children and their promotion from first to second grade were generally positive. It is not known if achievement was sustained through the third, fourth, and upper grades.

It is doubtful that the basic problem of Chicano children today is lack of English. More likely it is a series of other problems, as has been discussed. The dire need for well-controlled longitudinal studies is obvious.

More general preschool programs suffer the same lack of follow-up and are equally difficult to evaluate. California, however, reported positively that "(1) pupils developed listening and speaking skills, learned to play and work together, and learned to care for themselves and their possessions in a group setting; (2) the program enhanced, to a significant degree, the pupil's potential for success in the first grade; (3) parents and school staff indicated a satisfaction with the project and recommended its continuation; (4) prekindergarten teachers rated the project as high in the development of the child's communication skills, speaking vocabularies, listening vocabulary, interest in books, and other readiness skills; (5) teachers observed changes in students in all rating areas; (6) the program was effective in developing positive adult-child relationships; (7) children in the program exhibited an increase in desirable social traits or group characteristics and a decrease in undesirable social traits or group characteristics" (California State Department of Education 1966b).

After a comprehensive evaluation of preschool projects in Texas and the Southwest, Pierce-Jones et al. (1966, pp. 173–174) concluded that children with experience in Project Head Start: ". . . scored significantly above their first grade compeers [who had no preschool]. Although these non-Head Start children were older than Head Starters when tested, they had about the same amount of formal schooling, yet the Head Start children consistently excelled them in intellectual performance. [Teachers were asked] to nominate any of the children then in their first-grade classes for 'learning proficiency,' 'intellectual curiosity,' and 'potential educational failure.' These teachers named children *later identified* as Head Starters significantly more often than non-Head Starters for the first two attributes and significantly less often as 'potential educational failures.' [However,] the persistence of the changes apparently wrought in the disadvantaged population of children is at issue. Many factors in a child's home, peer society, school, community, and ethnolingual subculture may work in complicated ways to prejudice, sustain, or promote Head Start–initiated changes in childhood."

In the past 10 years debates have surfaced about the effectiveness of preschool or early formal educational intervention. From the Westinghouse study of Head Start (Evans 1975) to the Stallings (1976) study of Follow Through, the controversy has increased. Disagreements about preschool are old and well established. The increasing use of formal, objective, statistical analysis has added another dimension to the old philosophical argument. Today discussions of adequate methodology almost obscure the basic substance.

Like most current evaluations the Westinghouse study addressed the following questions: Does Head Start affect the intellectual and social development of participants? What difference does it make to disadvantaged youngsters? Do they achieve better? Are they better prepared to meet the expectations of the school? To answer these questions the research staff drew a sample of 104 Head Start centers, including summer as well as academic-year programs. The characteristics of children in these centers were compared with those of similar children who did not attend. The children were of like age, grade, and socioeconomic and family background. Psychometric tests were administered to investigate levels of language development, reading readiness, and other areas of achievement.

The findings of the Westinghouse study disappointed many who were convinced of the efficacy of Head Start and similar endeavors. There were ". . . no persistent gains in either cognitive or affective development in summer Head Start programs. . . . full-year programs *appeared to result* in improved reading readiness but affective measures did not indicate any advantage to Head Start children." Even more disappointing was the finding that ". . . whether summer or full-year programs, Head Start children maintained through the early school years a below-average position on national norms for standardized tests of language development and scholastic achievement." On the positive side, the study also concluded that "parents of Head Start children strongly approved of, and had been motivated to participate in, many of its activities" (Evans 1975, pp. 66–70). Unfortunately, the study did not investigate the effectiveness of the medical and nutritional aspects of Head Start. Thus a potentially positive result was omitted. Those who disagreed with the study results questioned its assumptions and its research methodology.

It should be emphasized that if early intervention programs had a powerful influence, it would have surfaced in this or other studies. Neither the research methodologies nor their underlying assumptions were faulty enough to mask or distort a significant or lasting change in children. The only logical conclusion can be that not much is happening in programs to prepare disadvantaged children for school. Head Start and other programs may have many positive features. Compensating for the lack of a middle-class home background does not appear to be one of them.

Follow Through was a national program to perpetuate the institutional changes promoted by Head Start. Although the compensatory and remedial objectives of Head Start were stressed, the program was also designed to encourage educational reform. The innovations assumed to have been established by Head Start were to be fostered by Follow Through. Its goal was to encourage the primary grades of pilot schools to accept new approaches.

An evaluation of the effectiveness of Follow Through models was undertaken by the Stanford Research Institute under the direction of

Jane A. Stallings. Classrooms were observed five hours a day for three days. Two days concentrated on the teacher and the aide, one day focused on randomly selected children. Standardized tests measured generalized achievement as well as reading and mathematics. Problem solving and intellectual aptitudes were evaluated, the latter by a "nonverbal culture fair" instrument. Differences in children's characteristics and classroom characteristics were analyzed in relation to the differing curricular models employed by different pilot schools. The Stanford Research Institute concluded that "(1) . . . instructional procedures used in classrooms and the achievement of children indicate time spent in reading and math activities, and a high rate of drill, practice, and praise contribute to higher reading and math scores. (2) Children taught by these methods tend to accept responsibility for their failures but not for their successes. (3) Lower absence rates and higher scores on a nonverbal problem-solving test of reasoning can be attributed in part to more open and flexible instructional approaches in which children are provided a wide variety of activities and materials and where children engage independently in activities and select their own groups, part of the time. (4) Classroom instructional processes predicted as much or more of the outcome score variances than did entering school test scores of children" (Stallings 1976, p. 47). Stallings concluded that what occurs within a classroom contributes to achievement in basic skills, good attendance, and desired child behaviors. The study strongly suggests that children in classrooms that provide a wide range of activities and a variety of manipulative materials learn to see relationships between parts and wholes and understand spatial relationships better than children in classes lacking these attributes do.

Whether early elementary or preschool intervention leads to improved academic achievement, or to the improvement of the more subjective aspects of school performance, remains unanswered. Over 15 years of program evaluation have not provided the reply. The recent furor over the new Early Childhood Education (ECE) program evaluation in California has fueled the debate. (For more information on this controversy see Riles 1975; Klineman 1977; California State Department of Education 1976.) Review of the important studies results in the following conclusions:

1. Almost all early intervention is based on the deprivation argu-

ment as well as on approaches that are compensatory and remedial.

2. There is no strong or clear evidence that early intervention promotes later school success.

3. There is some evidence that positive teacher-learner interaction and classroom atmosphere enhance attitudinal variables.

4. Debate over research methods, programs, and philosophy will persist.

5. The corollary benefits of parent involvement, increased employment, and improved health and nutrition may counterbalance the lack of demonstrable sustained academic achievement.

English as a Second Language

Many educators agree that the best single way to improve Mexican American school performance is to enhance English language ability. There is a long history of efforts to accomplish this. Changes in instructional techniques have occurred over the years. The methods have included Spanish prohibition and forced English speaking, rote drills, translation, oral language development, English as a Second Language (ESL), and some forms of bilingual education. All are based on the assumptions that (1) English is required in American schools and society, (2) the younger the learner the better, (3) schools can and should teach English to Spanish speakers, and (4) the lack of English language ability is the major cause of Chicano school failure. The last point presents a problem because there is serious doubt that lack of English is the leading cause of poor school performance.

The ESL program is a classic example of compensatory education. The school attempts to make amends because some Mexican American families do not teach their children the language required for school and social success. Formal ESL teaching techniques are the most highly developed of all compensatory education methods and are also the most successful. Given student motivation and an appropriate setting, they reach their objective: Spanish speakers learn English.

Formal techniques of teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) grew out of the direct foreign language instruction methods developed during World War II. Although the United States has a history of teaching English to immigrants, the break with traditional approaches and the development of structured, linguistically based techniques did not occur until the middle 1940s. From then to the present an enormous amount of ESL literature has evolved. Much has been written about ESL, many curriculums have been developed, and numerous teachers have applied it. Unfortunately, not enough has been done to evaluate its effectiveness.

The curriculums are based on the following theories: (1) Oral language precedes learning to read. (2) Oral language is significantly and positively related to comprehension and other reading skills. (3) The science of linguistics provides a base for the development of a language teaching-learning technique. This audiolingual approach systematically expands the learner's capacity to produce, to hear, and to speak language. Oral language is a structured pattern of sounds and words; it is not isolated, discrete utterances. Therefore, to learn a new language the student must learn the common patterns of speech. Exercises repeat the pattern to be learned; once learned, the patterns can be modified. Oral language learning is thus structured by the patterns, or drills, employed. Practitioners of ESL have developed numerous drills to teach differing aspects of the English language: inflection, substitution, completion, expansion, integration. (See Lado 1957; Wright 1964; Smith 1968; Finocchiaro 1969; Thonis 1970; Morris 1972; Saville 1972; Saville and Troike 1973.) Language is learned in sequence by listening, speaking, reading, and writing; emphasis is placed on listening and speaking during the initial phase of second language learning. In their longitudinal studies Loban (1963) and Strickland (1962) concluded that there is a strong correlation between oral language fluency, reading, and comprehension. Abilities in reading, writing, listening, and speaking also showed a positive relation to one another. Listening and speaking determine proficiency in the other language abilities – reading and writing. This sequential development, however, is rarely encountered in classroom operation.

Even though most practitioners probably agree with ESL theory, they have difficulty applying it. Theory and practice differ. Under the guise of ESL many teachers do not base reading on acquired oral language; reading in English is often taught before the language is spoken. Many ill-prepared practitioners teach ESL by traditional nonaudiolingual methods. They stress word translation rather than pattern learning, reading rather than hearing and speaking. A second concern is the boredom of ESL techniques. Continued repetition of drills is difficult for adults and almost impossible for small children. Their attention span and conscious desire to learn English are insufficient to sustain their concentration. Curriculum developers have not succeeded in producing materials appropriate to the younger learner. A third concern is that constant stress on English subordinates the home language and encourages the child to forget it. Although some ESL programs employ total physical response and audiolingual techniques in an effort to increase oral language proficiency among Chicanos, both methods tend to eradicate the native language and to retard concept formation in English by their use of response parroting. "... meaning, and not oral production, is the greatest problem encountered in the teaching of both English and reading to the secondary school student of ESL" (Morris 1972, p. 163).

In Southwestern schools the quality of ESL instruction varies greatly because most teachers and aides are not following established or recommended ESL approaches. Children are usually "tuned out and turned off." Many classes and schools defined as bilingual offer little more than the standard ESL with a smattering of Mexican folklore added. Although ESL is a component of most bilingual programs, teaching English to Spanish-dominant children does not classify a program, class, or school as bilingual.

Despite ESL activities in the Southwestern schools we visited, the programs were not widespread, as Table 52 shows. Less than 2 percent of Southwestern teachers were assigned to ESL programs. Many reported they had fewer than six semester hours of instruction in ESL. Only 2.4 percent of these teachers were enrolled in relevant inservice courses during the 1968–69 school year. On the positive side, the Civil Rights Study reported that the higher the Mexican American percent-

Table 52: English as a Second Language in the Southwest

	Percentage of schools offering ESL	*Percentage of Mexican Americans enrolled in ESL*
Arizona	9.3	3.8
California	26.4	5.2
Colorado	1.9	0.9
New Mexico	15.7	4.5
Texas	15.8	7.1
Southwest total	19.7	5.5

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 3, Figure 8.

Table 53: ESL and Mexican American Percentage in School

Percentage of Mexican Americans	*Percentage of schools offering ESL*	*Percentage of Mexican Americans enrolled in ESL*
0–24.9	9.9	2.5
25–49.9	27.1	4.0
50–74.9	29.1	4.7
75–100	46.1	9.7

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 3, Figure 9.

age in a school, the more likely the school would have an ESL program (Table 53). The programs appeared to be where student need was greatest; however, the number of students enrolled in ESL was and continues to be surprisingly and depressingly small.

We are inclined to be pessimistic. There is no reason to believe that the situation today has improved much. There continues to be a lack of ESL instruction in Southwestern schools. Teachers observed recently still demonstrate a lack of preparation in the appropriate techniques. To the degree that non-English speaking is the Chicano's major problem, ESL appears to be a step in the right direction. Unfortunately, we are convinced that it is not the major problem. ESL is probably the only successful compensatory education activity and is extremely useful with new arrivals from Mexico and in geographic areas where Spanish is the first language. It can be employed in a manner that will not derogate or eradicate Spanish. Much remains to be done in revising approaches for small children as well as in improving the quality and quantity of ESL teaching. Its artificial and mechanical approach to language learning is questionable and needs to be modified. Despite our conviction of the usefulness of ESL, our review of the literature indicates that very little comprehensive research on its effects with Spanish-dominant children exists. As in the sixties, no evidence can be found to clearly demonstrate that ESL programs sustain achievement by Mexican American children through the subsequent years of school.

Remedial reading

Most Southwestern schools provide some form of remedial activity to improve the ability of Chicano children in the language arts. It is a rare elementary school that does not provide remedial reading or special language programs. Secondary schools also have remedial reading classes, but many do little more than place slow readers in low-ability tracks. Most of the programs do not differ from those for slow learners of the general population. Despite the expenditure of human effort and millions of dollars, there remains much confusion about the nature and effect of remedial activities. One leading Chicano authority commented: "The reading and language arts teachers can't teach Mexican Americans during the regular school year and now the same teachers are not teaching Mexican Americans for three more months during the summer." Most remedial language arts instruction is more of the same delivered by the same teachers to smaller groups or at a different time.

During the sixties the remedial programs made little attempt to diagnose the individual reading problems; few teachers had the necessary skills, and most materials were inadequate. Today the emphasis is on individual diagnosis and prescription. Although the literature advocates it and some materials encourage individual attention, few teachers satisfactorily implement it in their classrooms. They lack the time and the special skills. To individually diagnose, prescribe, test, and then repeat the process on an ongoing basis is a herculean task. With 30 students in a self-contained classroom, such attention is practically impossible. The well-established ability-group reading circles or similar artifacts remain the most common attempt to individualize. The situation is often compounded by rigid homogeneous ability grouping or tracking. The classroom or section often contains all children with reading problems. Usually the reading specialist is the only person in the school who even approaches individualization. Diagnosis and prescription advocated so vocally from higher up in the professional hierarchy are rarely encountered in the functioning Southwestern school.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the schools find it difficult to teach Chicanos to read. By far the most accepted program to improve their achievement is some form of remedial reading. Southwestern schools advocated such programs and established a few long before special funds were available. With Title I and state funds, all five states have increased their efforts. Remedial reading is the best established of compensatory programs. It is popular among educators because it demands little or no change in the regular school organization, curriculum, materials, or staff. It is monolingual in English, necessitates no modification for Chicano pupils, is geared to aid all poor readers regardless of ethnicity, and is a supplemental program. The school adds remedial reading programs as special funds become available and subtracts them as special funds disappear.

Table 54: Schools Offering Remedial Reading

	Percentage of all schools	*Percentage of all students*	*Percentage of Mexican American students*
Arizona	55.8	8.6	11.4
California	65.3	6.5	10.0
Colorado	58.1	7.1	11.7
New Mexico	40.9	5.7	8.1
Texas	51.5	8.4	11.8
Southwest total	58.2	7.0	10.7

Source: Civil Rights Study, Report 3, p. 28.

Although reading remediation is the most common compensatory program, the Civil Rights Study found that 44 percent of elementary schools and 32 percent of secondary schools did not offer remedial programs in 1968–69. The study also reported fewer Chicanos enrolled than expected (Table 54). The commission reported that 60 percent of all Chicanos were six months or more below grade level. Table 54 shows that only about one in six Chicanos who needed remedial reading were actually enrolled. The study found that reading remediation was provided to 10.7 percent of elementary school and 10.6 percent of secondary school Mexican Americans; 17 percent of fourth graders and 40 percent of eighth and twelfth graders were reported to be two or more years below grade level. Although all children who read below grade level do not need special help, all who read two or more grades below certainly do. Comparable data for the current year are unavailable, but most Chicano children who need help in reading are still not getting it. Whether they would profit from remedial reading is another, even more important, question.

The success or failure of remedial reading programs hinges on many variables; like all aspects of school, it is a complex interweaving of cause and effect. The capabilities of remedial reading teachers, however, are very important. The commission found that 3.9 percent of Southwestern teachers taught remedial reading and that 80 percent had taken six or more semester hours of relevant instruction. In 1968–69 about 3 percent were enrolled in one form or another of inservice preparation (Report 3, p. 28). Although inservice preparation does not guarantee higher-quality teacher performance, too small a percentage were maintaining or upgrading their skills. Observations of remedial reading programs in the field show that the variations in expertise, enthusiasm, and empathy are extreme. The average teacher seems to possess enough of the technical skills but often lacks enthusiasm and empathy. Remedial reading teachers almost invariably stress the inadequacies of materials and report that Mexican American children lack interest in the books. The irrelevance is a problem for most poor readers; it is acute among Chicanos because few materials have been developed with them in mind. The most successful classes are those in which teachers are flexible and encourage students to read the kind of books and magazines they like or to compose their own reading materials.

Although Silverburg and Silverburg (1969) found that gains from remedial reading are lost within a year after special instruction stops, there is little objective data on whether improvement in reading ability is sustained. During the 1960s the well-constructed evaluative studies available were for one year only, and questions remained about the long-range effect. California reported that in the 1965–66 school year 368 districts undertook remedial reading programs as a primary activity of their projects under Title I of ESEA and that 47 districts undertook them as a secondary activity. The results of the year's activities were difficult to quantify because of the diverse measures used, but they were not encouraging (Table 55). In a sense the ratings described how adequately the remedial program was evaluated, not how much children learned. Similar "success" was reported for the general remedial and corrective language arts communicative skills programs. The California State Department of Education staff summarized their analysis of district reports as follows (1966b, pp. S19–S20):

"1. In the short time that ESEA Title I projects were in operation, students tended to achieve a month's growth for every month of instruction – a substantial increase over the .7 of a month growth for every month of instruction they had been averaging before the program started.

"The month-for-month growth was based on objective test data

Table 55: Progress in Remedial and Corrective Reading, California School Districts, 1965–66

	*Substantial progress**	*Some progress†*	*Little progress‡*	*Progress not specified§*
Prekindergarten	–	–	1	–
Grades 1–3	–	12	11	4
Grades 4–6	4	40	79	12
Grades 7–9	–	–	2	1
Grades 10–12	2	18	18	4
Other categories not specified by grade	3	70	59	28
Total	9	140	170	49

* To obtain this rating a project had to result in statistically significant growth or change, demonstrated by a test at or beyond the .05 level of confidence; the district had to use a control or comparison group.

† Positive change had to be demonstrated by test scores, teacher surveys, attendance records.

‡ Projects evaluated only by subjective methods (funded late in school year or not fully implemented because of difficulties in hiring staff or delays in delivery of equipment).

§ No data supplied or project did not get started.

Source: California State Department of Education 1966b, pp. S12–S13, F2.

and was demonstrated in the majority of districts which operated the reading program for at least four months. . . .

"2. School district personnel generally agree that the students improved in attitude, motivation, and interest toward learning. As these are important factors in learning, continued growth may be anticipated. Teachers also reported a positive change in their own attitudes towards these children and in their techniques in working with disadvantaged children.

"It is not appropriate at this early stage to single out any one approach to the improvement of achievement level. However, several generalizations can be made from the evaluation of the first semester's programs:

"1. The growth in achievement was highly and positively related to the length of time the children participated in the activity. . . .

"2. The most significant growth was demonstrated in projects in which:

a. the students were thoroughly screened and diagnosed to discover the causes of their learning problems;

b. trained specialists were employed to devote full time to remediation of reading difficulties;

c. a variety of approaches, including reading laboratories and special textbooks and materials, were used;

d. remedial reading activities were conducted for a specified period of time each day in facilities other than the regular classroom.

"3. The least significant growth seemed to occur in smaller districts where remedial reading was taught in the regular classroom by the regular teacher in small groups for indefinite periods of time during the school day.

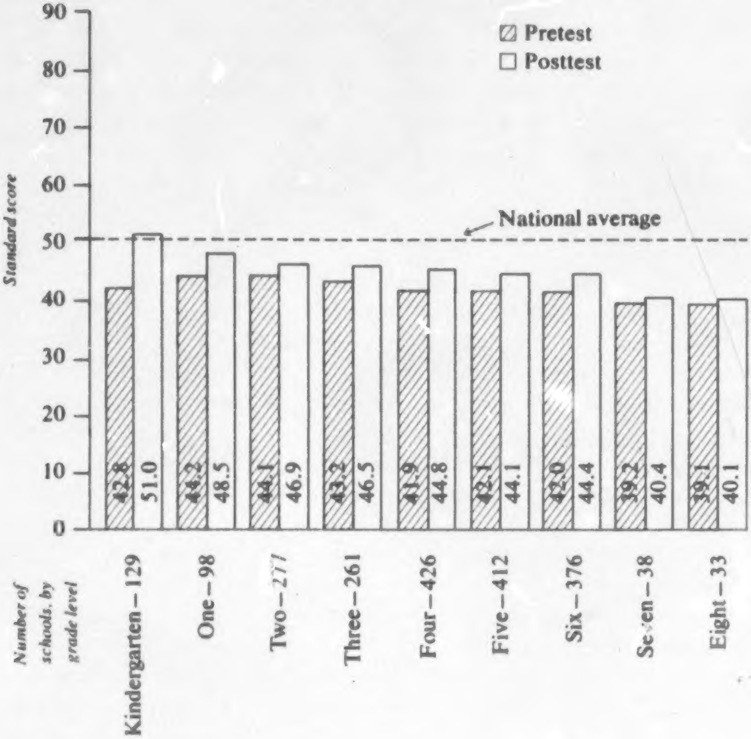
"4. The most success appeared to have been achieved in grades 1–4, with lesser growth demonstrated in the upper grades."

Ten years ago conditions encouraging "significant growth" as described above were rarely found in most areas of the Southwest. Specialists, diagnostic facilities, and reading laboratories were more readily available in California than in the other Southwestern states, although the large metropolitan areas in all five states were comparable. California reported on all children involved, not solely Mexican Americans. The differences in growth among Chicanos, blacks, and Anglos were unknown.

In 1976 the California State Department of Education released a similar study for 1974–75. This report indicated that almost 807,000 students received some form of categorical programs for the disadvantaged. Younger children received more compensatory and remedial programs than did older children; 65 percent of the children served were in grades K to 3; 23 percent were in grades 4 to 6; 12 percent were in grades 7 to 12. The necessity for early intervention is shown by this distribution. Ninety-five percent of the disadvantaged children in California received some form of reading remediation, the major endeavor in California as elsewhere.

In their attempt to evaluate the efficacy of their efforts, California used the pretest and posttest comparison method. Gains in average standard score points were calculated between the beginning and end of the school year. Many reading achievement instruments were utilized, further complicating the evaluation. The results of both the first and the last assessment were calculated and compared with the national average (Table 56). California concluded (p. 44) that on ". . . an average, kindergarten through grade eight increased in reading by 2.3

Table 56: California Title I Reading Achievement, 1974-75



Source: California State Department of Education, *Evaluation Report*, 1976, Figure 9.

standard score points on the posttest compared to the pretest. Grades nine through twelve were not included in standard score comparisons because of irregularities in testing and reporting procedure." It is obvious, however, that the reading achievement of the children who received remediation did not reach the national average. Despite arguments of the deprivationists, the disadvantaged children are closest to average children when they are young, and they fall progressively farther behind. Remediation or special efforts in reading are very successful in the early years and decrease over time. As we mentioned earlier, California's efforts also decrease as children get older.

California also calculated "grade equivalent gain scores by grade levels." Although they failed to explain how this was calculated, they found ". . . that for ESEA Title I across all grade levels, there was a typical gain of 1.1 months in measured reading ability for each month of reading instruction" (Table 57). It is difficult to accept such positive evaluations. It seems overly optimistic to assume that reading remediation will maintain even a month's achievement growth for a month's special instruction. The poor reader receiving special help is generally helped, however.

Many problems confront the educator who attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of remedial reading activities. The foremost is that research methodologies are highly questionable. Incompatible data are emphasized; measured skills vary greatly from program to program; differing grade levels stress differing skills. Comparisons are relatively meaningless. Particularly applicable to most state evaluations, and especially to California's, is this comment by Spache (1976, p. 328): ". . . evaluation of short-term remedial reading programs cannot be done accurately by comparison of pretests and posttests, by comparing gains with 'normal' growth, or by noting the decrease in the gap in achievement and mental age. There is no good single criterion with which the pretest to posttest gain may be compared." Spache described alternative evaluation approaches that we have not encountered. The problem is compounded because Mexican Americans are not reported separately in evaluative studies of remedial reading. Only one researcher has attempted to synthesize the many conflicting and methodologically questionable studies (see Bliesmer 1962).

Remedial reading is one of the few auspicious adjust-the-child programs. It shows promise of improving Mexican American achievement if–

1. The service is maintained through the years of school;

2. Adequate numbers of programs are implemented;

3. The treatment groups are kept small;

4. Materials relevant to the life experiences, interests, and age of the learner are employed; and

5. The classes are conducted by teachers sensitive to, interested in, and empathetic with children.

Table 57: Monthly Gains in Reading in California, 1974–75

Grade	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*
Weighted average	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.1
Total number of programs	(163)	(583)	(593)	(584)

Source: California State Department of Education, *Evaluation Report*, 1976, adapted from Table 21.

Other language arts

English as a Second Language and remedial reading are the two most common and best documented of the compensatory-remedial programs within language arts. Many avenues are taken to improve, enrich, and develop English language proficiency among disadvantaged Mexican Americans. In one way or another many school activities are interrelated with language; almost any compensatory-remedial activity can also be a language improvement program.

A common activity a decade ago was to develop oral and written language around cultural enrichment activities. Thus, teaching the language was associated with middle-class experiences. This seems to have lost popularity with the demise of the earlier emphasis on cultural enrichment. Today more emphasis is placed on learning the basic formal language skills. Many structured, often individualized, materials have been developed, marketed, and used.

Interviewees for the first study described numerous programs whose objectives were to culturally enrich the lives of the Chicano poor. Projects and activities ran the gamut from trips to the opera to picnics in the country. In California the enrichment included "... study trips, speakers, development and acquisition of aesthetic materials, creative expression, outdoor education (camping) and, on a few occasions, summer field trips" (California State Department of Education 1966b, p. 510). Through such activities Chicano children were exposed to small segments of the kind of middle-class experiences assumed by educators to be important in encouraging school learning. These projects defined culture as "the great works that have survived the ages" and provided the disadvantaged with suitable exposure to good music and art. How educators determined that this culture characterized the typical middle-class home is unknown, but teachers apparently as-

5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.0	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.6	1.3	1.5
(719)	(660)	(55)	(52)	(82)	(54)	(32)

sumed that exposure to it would enhance the learning ability (or at least broaden the horizon) of low-status children. Most quotations and reports concerning the success of the enrichment programs were highly subjective. A decade ago school people felt that compensatory exposure was of real value. The contemporary demand for basic skill improvement, the development of "canned" programs, and the loss of funding through changes in program priorities have almost eliminated cultural enrichment. Although the programs were based on questionable assumptions about middle-class culture, they provided a shared group activity that contributed to student excitement, interest, and language development.

The real social and educational function of quick excursions into the world of affluence, culture, and middle-class life was never fully investigated. Do the trips accomplish their objectives? What meaning do children ascribe to such experiences? How do they react to the different world? Does such exposure increase or decrease hostility toward the dominant society? Schools and learning have probably been diminished by the loss of these direct experiences; Southwestern classrooms seem even more sterile today than they were a decade ago.

The correction of Mexican and Spanish accents was thought to be an area of language arts remediation that might prove helpful. Ten years ago only one example of such a program was encountered; today there are none that we know of. Accent correction is an important, though neglected, activity.

The failure of the child to learn unaccented standard English is not generally recognized as a problem. Most educators believe an accent is acceptable if communication between individuals is not impaired; the Chicano movement has undoubtedly strengthened this belief. Few realize that accented speech can be a severe stigma operating to the social and economic detriment of Chicanos. Accented English is part of the Mexican stereotype and influences the expectations of many Anglos. This should not be, but it is reality. Chicanos with an accent are often assumed to behave as the stereotype defines them. Those in power often make decisions detrimental to Mexican Americans on such flimsy and prejudicial evidence. The argument that Zsa Zsa Gabor, Wernher Von Braun, and Albert Einstein did well with accented speech is irrelevant. For their occupations and social levels accented English was an advantage. For the poor an accent can hinder social and economic advancement. Chicano children's accents are assumed to result from interference induced by the pronunciation differences between Spanish and English. A few educators interviewed agree that children's accents result principally from socialization within groups where accented English is the only socially acceptable form. Adult Spanish speakers find correct English pronunciation difficult because of the differences between the two languages, but children learn accented speech from their peers or significant others. The school, because it often isolates Chicano children from Anglo teachers and pupils, may promote the perpetuation of accented speech. A few educators commented that teachers encourage accented speech by rewarding youngsters who use it with a smile or a laugh. In an elementary school near the Mexico–United States border, a first grader, asked to say the word *school*, replied with *eschool*. The teacher's obvious pleasure caused the child to beam with joy. Usually this is viewed as language interference; actually, the child may know no Spanish at all and may just be mimicking peers.

Calderón stressed that standard English is essential and possible for Spanish speakers, provided teachers recognize the problem and use correct instructional procedures (1959, p. 26). Many Chicano children who have strong accents are not encouraged to use standard English pronunciation. The one formal program to correct accents, observed a decade ago, was in El Paso, Texas. A high school class ". . . comprising seniors considered by the school to be potential college material, was conducted in English but [the teacher] often switched to Spanish to point out contrast in pronunciation in both languages. He wrote sentences on the chalkboard, then wrote the phonetic symbols. The students were instructed to repeat after him, then read in chorus. Finally, individuals were asked to read" (National Education Association 1966, p. 24). High morale and substantial success were reported for these well-motivated Mexican American students. The techniques to overcome accents are available and easy to use, but only one district is known to have applied them formally.

In the last few years educators have become increasingly aware that uninterested, uninvolved students are not learning. A contributing cause is the inappropriateness of language arts materials. A few schools are attempting to incorporate the assumed background of the students and to eliminate the most obvious middle-class content. But, as a rule, school materials geared to the life experiences or cultural background of "deprived children" are rarely found in classroom use. Most schools at both elementary and secondary levels continue to use traditionally acceptable, standard subject matter with the exception of Spanish language content. The difficulty of preparing reading, language arts, or other materials relevant to the life experiences of Chicanos is apparent. (For information on materials see the Comptroller General's report on "Bilingual Education," 1976.) Chicanos are diverse, and no one set of materials could be relevant to all of them. The children's real life experiences, if known, might be perceived as inappropriate in school or defined as "bad." These problems, plus publishers' desires for a mass market, foster irrelevant and perhaps conflict-inducing materials.

Compensating for other deficiencies

Many other compensatory and remedial procedures are based on assumptions concerning cognitive deficiency. The remedial programs are in reading readiness, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, physical education, and science. The compensatory programs are in art, music, and home economics. In practice the distinction between remedial and compensatory classroom activities is blurred; however, in those subject areas most clearly related to home deficiencies, the compensating and substituting character is most evident. For example, a cooking class recently observed in Arizona focused on substituting American low temperature cooking of proteins for Mexican high temperature cooking. High and low temperature fried eggs demonstrated to the Chicanas that the American way tasted and smelled better. Nutrition and health programs may be compensatory, remedial, or both. Medical care provided through the school is based on the same suppositions as ESL and remedial reading: The home fails to provide an environment that fosters good health, which is necessary to cognitive development; children will learn better if the school is able to substitute for these deficiencies. Everything from free lunches to dental care can be provided. In one respect these are probably the most successful of all compensatory activities because the children's health and nutrition are improved. But there is no evidence that improvement in health and nutrition is followed by better academic achievement.

Affective deficiencies

A major premise of the deprivationist position is that affective as well as cognitive aspects of personality are adversely influenced by nurture in a disadvantaged social environment. Those who follow the theory of incompatibilities concur, but they contend that these cultural differences are a disadvantage only because the school fails to adapt instruction to them. Diverse compensatory and remedial activities originate in the belief that the school can undertake treatment to improve the affective abnormalities or differences. These educators propose to improve the affective areas in order to ultimately improve the cognitive areas of personality. The relationship, for example, between negative self-concept of ability and low school achievement is recognized.

There have been many programs, but only one is known to have been carefully and objectively evaluated. In 1972 the Edgewood School District in San Antonio implemented activities to eliminate incompatibilities between assumed Mexican American affective attributes and the school instructional program (see Edgewood School Plan in Chapter 7). The staff of the Edgewood project would argue that their experimental program was to modify the school and was not a compensatory or remedial activity. The treatments they used, however, were similar to those that attempt to remodel the Mexican American. In classroom practice the differences in underlying assumptions tend to wash out.

Edgewood's "compatible educational program" employed various strategies, activities, and programs. Some lasted for the duration of the project, some for shorter periods. The evaluation staff stated: "The program acquired more Mexican American teachers, used Spanish as a language of instruction and classroom management, developed and/or adapted materials with Mexican American and local content, increased small group and individualized instruction. Although considerable variation was present in each of these educational elements during four years of federal funding, the original goals were reaffirmed . . ." (Cervantes and Bernal 1976, p. v). The evaluators had to consider the treatments in the aggregate; no single program component could be treated separately. The Edgewood program differed from traditional compensatory and remedial activities in that it essayed simultaneous activities intended to contribute to substantial institutional change. "It specifically attempted to reverse 'negative self-concept, motivation, and attitudes,' and by so doing, improve the academic achievement of the students" (p. v). After four years of careful study the evaluators concluded (pp. v–vi):

> "1. In general, the assumption that Mexican American students' affect is low or negative was not upheld; these students were near or at the instruments' norms [self-concept is normal].
>
> "2. There was little or no relationship between the affective and cognitive scores of these students.
>
> "3. A large individualized instruction program appeared to have produced a relative decrease in the treatment students' achievement scores when compared to those in a more traditional program at grade 4.
>
> "4. Females scored higher than males on a number of variables between third and sixth grades; there were few differences before or after this period.
>
> "5. Basing an instructional program on the theory of incompatibilities, at least as translated into action by this experimental program, did not produce improved achievement scores.
>
> "Overall, the treatment program of the Edgewood School Plan did not improve the life chances of its Mexican American students through increases in either the affective or cognitive domain scores when these were compared to those of students in similar schools who did not participate in the experimental program."

Two assumptions are important: First, Edgewood Mexican Americans are similar to other Southwestern Mexican Americans in psychosocial, attitudinal, and cognitive aspects. Second, the treatment programs were at least as well implemented as most other similar activities. If both these assumptions are valid (and there is little reason to doubt them), the conclusions are that Mexican Americans are not so atypical as supposed and that traditional compensatory-remedial treatment will not improve their affective or their cognitive attributes.

UPGRADING THE SCHOOLS

The activities considered in this section are general and comprehensive compared with the specific and single-purpose programs discussed previously. The focus is on staff improvements through pre- and inservice training, curricular changes, and other efforts to equalize school facilities. The objective is improved school performance. Southwestern society had discriminated against its Chicano population. By denying equal and appropriate instruction and facilities, it had failed to provide equal opportunity. Changes to upgrade the school are still founded on the belief that the standard school is satisfactory and adequate for Anglos. The problem in the past has been that the Southwest did not provide an equal standard school for Chicanos. This section describes some of the attempts to make Mexican American schools as good as those attended by Anglos.

Curricular Improvements

Although there have been changes since the middle sixties, more has been said than done. The school is slow to react to social forces (the school cultural lag), and curricular changes have not been major. They are corrective rather than trend-setting.

The civil rights and minority group movements provoked a conscious effort to eliminate ethnocentricity and racism from the formal curriculum. Racial and ethnic group stereotyping has been a particular target for action. Significant progress has been made in excising from printed material the flagrant ethnocentricity, stereotyping, and other false impressions. Much of the negative content has been removed. At all educational levels Chicano professionals and nonprofessionals have been active in this endeavor. Many school districts have watchdog committees to screen materials. Mexican American education associations in the Southwestern states have made a meaningful contribution by providing leadership and expertise.

California appointed a statewide committee to evaluate all materials under consideration for state adoption. This body found serious fault with almost all submissions. Their recommendations for modification were not totally acceptable to the state board of education. In retrospect, however, the committee accomplished a great deal by forcing the state to recognize textbook bias and stereotyping officially, thus adding a new dimension to the process of acceptance. Some of the committee's recommendations for modifications resulted in improvements. The reviewers are more successful in eliminating distortions than in encouraging the inclusion of relevant factual content. There is a continuing effort to fill the void created by the almost total omission of the Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano experience. The approaches to incorporate this tradition differ.

The omission and distortion of Hispanic content within the formal curriculum are important because they contribute to the mobilization of bias and institutional racism. If children internalize what the school teaches (at best a highly questionable assumption), it follows that Chicanos learn their group is either inferior or not worth mentioning. Anglos, on the other hand, learn they are superior and their ethnic group is solely responsible for the benefits of civilization. Some teachers see the elimination of bias and the inclusion of a realistic treatment of the Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano experience as beneficial to *all* children. This integrationist position assumes that such curricular content will improve human understanding while reducing prejudice and ethnic stereotyping. The deprivationist argument, however, is the most common justification; the inclusion of the Chicano tradition is necessary to enhance ethnic pride. If Chicano self-concepts are more positive, their academic performance will be better. Those who take this compensatory position are inclined to idealize and glorify the Hispanic content. They assume that if the culture is presented as perfect, exciting, and beautiful, it will encourage ethnic pride and make the school learning experience more rewarding for Chicanos. The integrationists as well as the educators who stress curricular relevancy demand an objective and realistic portrayal of the tradition. They believe that cultural items have more meaning for learners if they reflect the real world. Efforts are being made to project the culture from the real community into the curriculum, although the heterogeneity and dynamic nature of the Mexican American make this difficult.

In their efforts to include the Hispanic tradition, Southwestern schools experimented with the Miami Linguistic Readers, often referred to as the Dade County materials. Originally designed for Cuban refugee children the series features cultural neutrality, which is achieved by the use of cartoon figures of animals acting out universal themes. When classes using these or similar materials were observed, it was obvious that the children were projecting themselves into characters and events. Some of the animals are portrayed so vaguely that even their sex is not identified; the children had arguments about whether one character was a boy or a girl. Projection was particularly evident in the children's role-playing activities, which are part of the recommended activities.

During the sixties a few schools in Riverside, California, experimented with a primer that included stories and characters from a culture unfamiliar to all the children. In Gearing's book, *Big Cat* (1967), the third culture is that of the American Indian. This ethnologically accurate, linguistically based experimental reader and its recommended activities were intended to encourage children to project their own life experiences into those of the Indian boy, Big Cat, and his family. Favorable results were reported. Another, more widely used curriculum is *Man: A Course of Study*, in which the Eskimo is depicted. Evaluation in 200 classrooms indicated that this unique approach encouraged social learning and inquiring attitudes. In addition, teachers said a new set of skills could be developed in the elementary or middle school classroom: active listening, communicating, group sharing, observing, abstracting, and contrasting.

The language experience and similar methods are used fairly often. In this projective technique teachers encourage children to use their own life experiences, elicited through story telling or other devices, to construct reading materials; the children's artwork is sometimes used for illustration. In some classes the children make their own individual books. Through such approaches the group experience is incorporated in the curriculum. In other instances neutral and universal photographs or drawings have encouraged children to interpret a scene individually. Usually they are intended to stimulate creative writing, but they may be used to induce children to create their own readers. In San Diego, for example, Chicanos were taken on field trips within their communities. The children photographed subjects of interest to them and later translated their experiences into readers. The books used their photographs as well as their artwork. This projection of the real experiences of children into the curriculum can make learning meaningful. The projective techniques usually supplement standard language arts materials and traditional methods. Teachers report high student interest and good results, especially at the primary level.

Many interviewees during the first study commented on the need for Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano content in the formal curriculum. Now quite common, the program is usually a separate multicultural unit but may be integrated into social studies or other subject areas. Many Southwestern teachers have collected materials for Chicano cultural corners in their classrooms and schools. Federally funded ethnic heritage programs have also made contributions. Although the schools have special courses in Latin American and Hispanic culture, there are few appropriate texts (particularly for secondary schools) that reflect the history or cultural contributions of Mexican Americans. Unfortunately, many textbooks either slight Mexican Americans or describe them in ways that contribute to a negative stereotype. Most elementary-level social study texts describe the Mexican American family in terms of the folk tradition—a people who seem to have little else in their life-style than fiestas, holidays, religious activities, heroes, colorful costumes, and bullfights. This superficial treatment is detrimental to intergroup understanding as well as to the Chicano perception of themselves and their ethnic group.

Ethnic content enters the school in supplemental materials, new courses, special sections, learning centers (Chicano corners), and ethnic studies programs; it is seldom incorporated into the regular curriculum or program. The failure to integrate it into regular texts and curriculum leads to the belief that ethnic content is considered compensatory and is solely for use by, and aid to, Chicanos. The quality of the Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano cultural content is of utmost importance. In the understandable rush to fill the void, educators have not been selective. Most materials reflect no established philosophy. Diversity is acceptable, but the lack of qualitative analysis and screening has resulted in the admission of some questionable publications.

Schools continue to attempt in numerous ways to introduce the history, culture, and arts of the Chicano tradition. These efforts take many forms. As with so many other attempts, no hard evidence concerning their effectiveness is available. The elimination of bias and institutional racism is certainly a worthwhile effort, one that is far from realization.

Staff improvements

A not unusual phenomenon exists in the educator's world. There is a strong tendency to shift responsibility for failure downward and an equally strong tendency to give praise upward. Failure is attributed to the most impotent elements in the system, praise to the most powerful. If Mexican Americans don't achieve well, blame the children and their home environment. If that does not suffice, the next least powerful element – the teacher – is the culprit. Next in importance to efforts to upgrade Chicanos are efforts to improve their teachers. Attempts to strengthen the understanding, techniques, and general capability of teachers are to be applauded. The default of the school, however, involves much more than the failure of teachers.

The last decade has seen an array of activities to improve the teacher. Not one can objectively be demonstrated to have helped Mexican American school performance, to have enhanced Mexican American life chances, or to have improved the school social climate. The subjective evaluation is that improvements in preservice and inservice preparation have been valuable.

Almost every educator interviewed commented that some form of special teacher training, either preservice or inservice, was essential to teach Chicano children successfully. Yet there was no consensus about what these programs should stress. Opinions are divided between those who argue that teachers should learn effective techniques for instructing Mexican American children and those who contend that teachers should learn to understand the child and the culture. Members of the first group were usually unable to describe any specific techniques that work. The advocates of understanding think that a knowledge of the culture and the child's adjustment problems will lead to more positive teacher behaviors. Many administrators stated that the attitude of teachers toward Mexican Americans was negative.

Institutes established under the National Defense Education Act and, in later periods, under other federal and state auspices were common throughout the Southwest and pursued new techniques as well as better understanding. The following description of an institute at the University of Texas at El Paso in the summer of 1967 is representative of the period: "The Institute for Teachers of the Educationally Deprived . . . concentrated on . . . helping teachers to understand the problems of children who are living in poverty, and the development of methods and techniques specifically designed for working with children in this category. Members of the Institute studied the sociology of the economically deprived as well as the Mexican-American culture which is dominant in this area. Activities included the study of reasons for difficulties Mexican-American children have in learning to read, speak, and understand the English language" (Barber 1967). Other institutes concentrated on the audiolingual approach to teaching a second language. Although many institutes and similar inservice activities stress other objectives, implicit in most is a desire to modify teachers' perceptions of Mexican American children and basic attitudes toward them. The degree and direction of attitudinal shift cannot be assessed objectively. The difficulties in determining such changes are well known. Even assuming a valid individual shift toward a more positive view, its permanence would be open to question: How long can the new perspective be maintained after the teacher leaves the supporting environment of the institute?

Today the emphasis on institutes has lessened; more attention is given to on-site inservice projects. The curriculum and objectives of the earlier institutes have been incorporated into these activities as well as into specialist credential programs. Almost all special projects for poverty or Title I schools involve some form of inservice preparation.

A few schools observed during the first study seemed successful in changing teachers' perceptions of, or behavior toward, Mexican American children. There was no single approach. Elementary schools in Laredo, Texas; Albuquerque, New Mexico; and Carlsbad, Azusa, Oasis, and Escondido, California, exemplified what could be accomplished in modifying teachers' outlooks and thus the school social climate. Although all the schools were different, they shared the following characteristics: (1) District administration permitted each school freedom to experiment. (2) Administrators presented no pat solutions to the problems of Mexican Americans; problems were approached jointly by teachers, administrators, and sometimes the community. (3) Teachers were given a free hand to experiment, to try new approaches, to develop materials; and they were supported in their efforts. (4) Parents were asked to help and advise, not to conform or to change their life patterns, and they were allowed to make decisions whenever possible; barrio parents were hired as teacher or other aides. (5) Older children were given increased responsibility; often they were permitted to help teach younger children. (6) Some method to encourage frank interchange of ideas among staff and to evaluate the program constantly was established—for example, open or nondirective teachers' meetings. Inservice programs were integral segments of a continual effort to improve the school environment; they were not separate, special "shots in the arm" to prepare teachers to use some new technique or curriculum.

In other schools teachers became enthusiastic about a given technique or curricular package that might be considered a panacea. In these schools, also, teachers occasionally changed their behavior toward Mexican Americans and perhaps generated student enthusiasm and academic learning. The effect of both the panacea and problem-solving approaches can be similar; but the latter, because there is no limit to solutions, may encourage teacher involvement and thus a more positive school environment. Enthusiasm and cooperation are likely to be maintained if the participants feel they are involved in the decision making. The panacea approach, although it has short-term benefits, may lead to teacher discouragement and pessimism. Faith in the panacea wanes if experience or objective evidence fails to demonstrate the improved school performance promised.

Both learn-the-technique and understand-the-culture approaches are found in today's inservice activities. A shift away from cultural understanding to a demand to learn techniques seems to be occurring, however. Practitioners—especially teachers—are under increasing pressure to establish set performance objectives and to be accountable for reaching them. In practice the teacher rarely establishes the level of proficiency: Forces outside the institution set specific goals. But teachers must develop techniques to reach predetermined levels. For example, 80 percent of sixth-grade children will read at grade level by semester's end. Teachers panic; their reputations and evaluations (and perhaps jobs) depend on their accomplishing what in reality may be unrealistic objectives. They react in class by devoting excessively large amounts of time and effort to teaching the basics. Caught in an untenable position, teachers demand training in techniques and curriculums guaranteed to produce the required results. Today's teachers are less apt to want to understand Chicanos; they want to improve basic skill performance, and they want to do it as quickly as possible.

Special preservice education to prepare staff was late to arrive and continues to be sporadic. California financed 12 experimental projects related to teacher education in 1965–66. Only one was a preservice program. It was not related especially to Mexican Americans but was one of the few experimental preservice programs in the Southwest for teachers of the disadvantaged. Conducted jointly by San Francisco State College and the Sausalito School District, its approach was "the development of basic experience through the seminar-tutorial" and the use of practice teaching in the field (California State Department of Education 1966a).

Few persons in positions of authority in teacher preparation advocated specialized efforts; few faculty members were either interested or knowledgeable. The senior author described the situation in 1969: "Teacher preparation institutions have done, and continue to do, little to aid their students in coping with the problems associated with cross-cultural schooling and the teaching of the ethnically different Mexican American. Public schools are attempting much more. Colleges and universities are not only failing to lead the way toward improved school opportunity for the minority, they also are failing to follow the lead of lower level institutions. The average teacher preparation program is as adequate for teachers in upstate New York in 1940 as it is for teachers of Mexican Americans in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas in 1969. This condition prevails in spite of the fact that most Southwestern education faculties are well aware that: (1) the vast majority of their students will teach some Mexican Americans; (2) a large percentage will teach in classes or schools with a majority of Mexican Americans; (3) most future teachers of Mexican descent will teach in schools where their own group predominates; (4) both minority group spokesmen and public school educators advocate special programs for teachers; and (5) the Federal Government promotes and could in numerous ways support such programs. Yet little or nothing is done. My institution serves as a good example. The University of Texas at El Paso graduates about 450 students a year who are granted elementary, secondary, or 'all-levels' credentials. Of these about 75 percent will teach in the immediate geographic area—an area composed of over 50 percent Mexican Americans. If our graduate is of Mexican descent, and about 35 percent are, he is almost inevitably assigned to *de facto* segregated minority schools by local school districts. In spite of this, there is no required course or course sequence within Education to acquaint our students with any aspect of the so-called 'Mexican problem.' However, as a stop-gap measure, student teachers are exposed to from three to six lectures on the subject – the only time in their entire college Education sequence that such content is introduced. What makes the situation even worse is that the required teacher preparation omits those courses in which content might logically apply to minorities, cultures, or values. No sociology, history, or philosophy of education is required. The dean and the faculty know something should be done; we know it could be done: little is" (Carter 1969, p. 8).

During the early 1970s the situation remained about the same. The Civil Rights Study found that only 1.1 percent of course offerings in the catalogs of 25 Southwestern teacher-preparation institutions contained topics related to the education of Mexican Americans. The study explained (1974, Report 6, p. 8): ". . . the small amount of material offered about Chicanos in education texts and courses is, in the view of some experts, usually inaccurate and paternalistic, if not derogatory. They point out that the persons who write the texts and teach most of the education courses seldom have close contact with the Chicano culture and often react to it in an ethnocentric manner."

A new element was introduced by the movement popularly called Competency-Based Teacher Education (CBTE), which assumed that specific behaviors and "sets of understandings" were related to successful teaching. Implicit was the conviction that successful teaching resulted in objectively verified improved learner performance. CBTE gained much publicity during the early 1970s. Some states demanded institutional implementation; others encouraged it. Texas attempted to legislate CBTE, but was deterred by the legal opinion of its attorney general. During these years there was a negative reaction to the traditional course offerings in professional preparation sequences. CBTE instigated much discussion and considerable heat within schools of education, but rarely was there a serious attempt to abandon the traditional approaches for the competency packages and field application it advocated. Today the movement has lost much of its early vigor.

Professionals interested in the Mexican American and in special teacher preparation saw CBTE as a viable solution. Long lists of cross-cultural "understandings" were developed, but few specific teacher behaviors were identified. (For a complete explanation of the promise and the problem see Hunter 1974.) The CBTE movement did succeed in focusing attention on specific content, understanding, and skills. Many bilingual specialist credentials as well as special basic preparation programs have profited from CBTE's influence, as explained in Chapter 7.

Today most teacher-preparation institutions place some emphasis on teaching the culturally different. Some have special classes; others, field-based teacher-training centers. The content is all too often based on the deprivation orientation and its related programmatic activities.

Equalizing equipment and facilities

During the last decade there has been a rush to use whatever funds were available to improve barrio schools. Many serious efforts have been made to equalize the schools attended by poor Chicanos with those serving the middle class. The truly deplorable physical conditions of the past have largely disappeared. In some school districts, such as those of southern Texas and northern New Mexico, poor school facilities for Chicanos continue. In predominantly Anglo districts most of the serious inadequacies of barrio schools have been eliminated.

All Southwestern states used federal funds to purchase such diverse equipment as complete language laboratories, reading diagnostic equipment, language skills centers, books and supplemental teaching materials, phonographs, and audiovisual equipment. In 1965 Texas ranked ". . . weaknesses in school environment (largely lack of learning materials)" the third most important pupil need to be met by federal financial assistance. This need to improve the school's facilities was ranked third in even the largest metropolitan districts. Texas enumerated the following school facilities or programs to be improved (percentages are those of all Texas school districts undertaking each activity): health and welfare services, 22 percent; health services and examinations, 21 percent; expanding library services, 17 percent; acquiring additional equipment, materials, and facilities, 14 percent; providing modern teaching equipment, materials, and techniques, 31 percent. The federal government assisted districts to reach normalcy, or at least minimum levels of facilities (Texas Education Agency 1966, pp. 85–87). In California as in Texas, "the third most prevalent primary activities . . . were in the area of supportive and auxiliary services, listed in 9.9 percent of the district reports. . . . Common activities were acquisition of library materials, special counseling techniques, physical education activities and speech therapy" (California State Department of Education 1966b, p. S10). California and Texas cannot be compared directly in their need to compensate for inadequate facilities or equipment; however, it appears that California had to improve material facilities in a smaller percentage of areas than Texas did.

In a sense the federal outlay of funds to upgrade school facilities implies that the federal government is doing a job that the people of the state are unwilling or unable to do. Texas, a rich state, regularly refused to tax itself adequately to support quality school facilities. Federal funds were used to do what the state would not do. Federal taxpayers were helping most the states that would not or could not help themselves. Today much less difference is found among schools within the same district. Exceptions persist, especially in those areas of most grievous discrimination.

Observations of new facilities suggested that (1) too much sophisticated equipment is not used to full advantage, and teachers do not understand its potential; (2) some equipment – for example, the almost omnipresent overhead projector – is often used to teach in a traditional manner; (3) books, like other teaching equipment, are often used in conventional and apparently unproductive ways; (4) much material is never used; and (5) some of the simplest equipment – for example, tape recorders and filmstrip projectors – is applied most advantageously.

A great deal of money has been expended on materials. Whether they pay the anticipated return depends on their use. Many interviewees commented positively on particular facilities or special pieces of equipment, but no one was able to demonstrate their benefits conclusively. This was true even for some of the most expensive and complicated setups. If teachers are not trained to use equipment properly and creatively, the equipment alone causes little or no difference in children's school performance.

Past inequalities of facilities are disappearing. Only in impoverished school districts are Chicano schools grossly inferior. This unequal treatment is by far the easiest to remedy: All that is needed is money. With financial assistance and prodding by concerned groups, this obvious form of discrimination is rapidly coming to an end.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

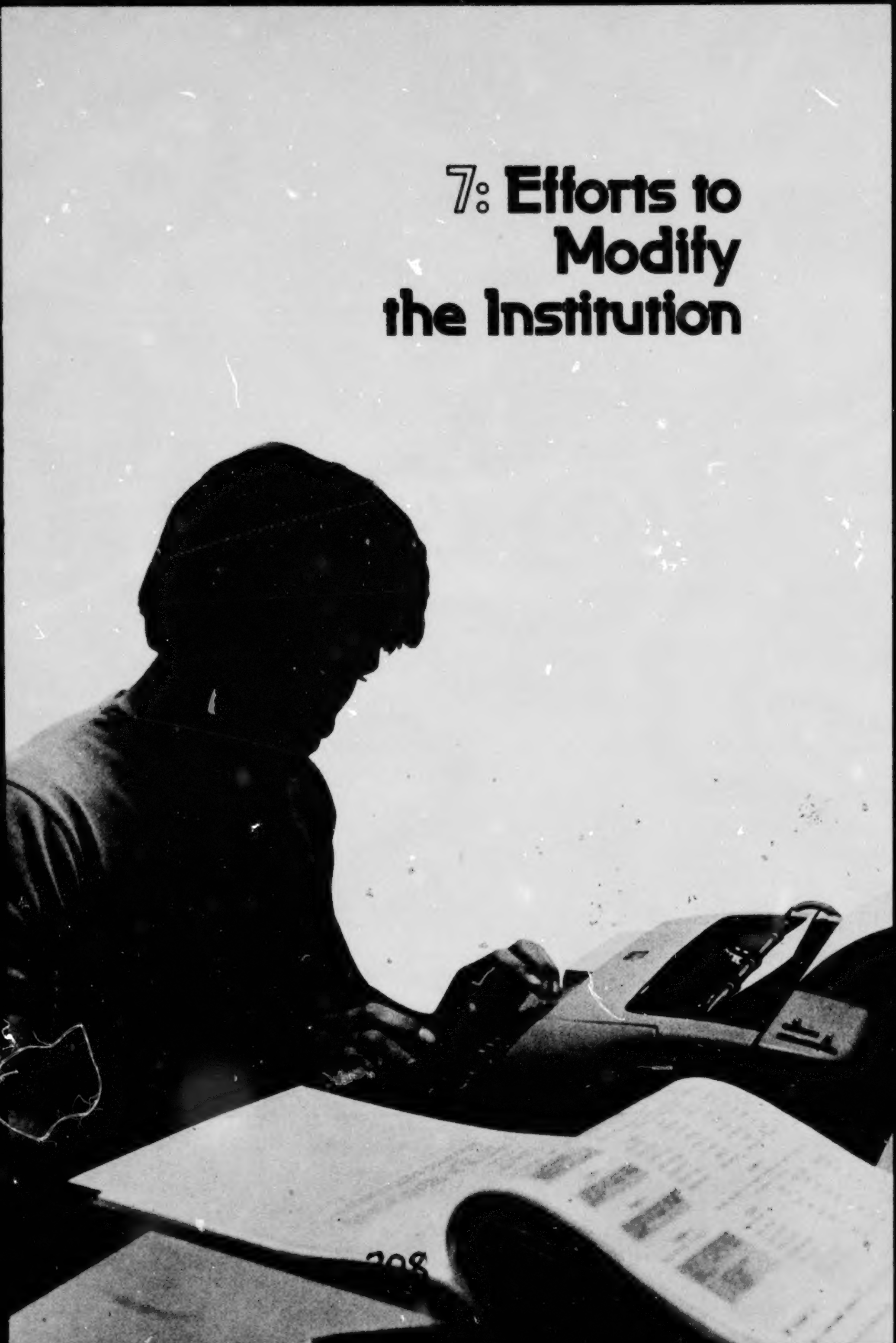
In a decade of efforts to improve the academic performance of Mexican Americans, the school has focused on two solutions to their low achievement and attainment. There is no firm evidence that either compensatory-remedial programs or improvements in the school have had positive results. But a decade of increased federal and state support has been beneficial in other areas, such as employment and parental involvement.

Most special programs for poor Mexican Americans are no different from those for other disadvantaged children. Few special programs significantly modify the school; most are intended to improve or remodel the child. Attempts to equalize the educational chances of children by giving them additional dosages of English, reading, or culture have not proved successful. Compensatory activities have not been shown to accomplish their desired ends. We have been unable to locate research that demonstrates a causal relationship between such activities and continued improved achievement. Nor is there evidence that a comprehensive treatment program will improve affective or cognitive aspects, although interviewees have spoken of the benefits for individual students. Ten years ago most educators interviewed were optimistic, feeling the compensatory education movement would succeed; today many doubt it.

Compensatory and remedial programs for Chicanos and other minorities are not substantially different from regular school programs. Usually they are the same subjects, often administered to smaller-size classes. A significant exception is English as a Second Language; these classes promise to meet their objectives. In general the special programs for Mexican Americans are highly traditional—that is, based on remediation or on cultural enrichment. They are successful in the eyes of some educators, but data clearly demonstrating a program's long-range influence on behavior, academic performance, attitudes toward school, and attendance were not found 10 years ago and are not found now. If the teacher becomes enthusiastic about a given program, project, or technique, however, expectations may be raised, and thus the child benefits from the program.

Unfortunately, the compensatory and remedial programs for Mexican American children can make a bad situation worse. If such activities exist, regardless of the quality or effectiveness there is a natural tendency for educators to be complacent. The school perceives itself as making a supreme effort to help, and any subsequent failure of the children is considered the responsibility of the home and barrio socialization.

7: Efforts to Modify the Institution



The school is highly conservative and change-resistant. As discussed in Chapter 6, educators are willing to attach programs as appendages to existing arrangements. They are also willing to improve facilities. But they strongly resist fundamental changes in formal or informal curriculums, administrative or power relationships, arrangements of students, and school-community relationships. Public schools rarely experiment; experiments are more often found in private schools. Over the centuries of institutional growth, networks of interrelationship and interdependence of status and functions have developed. The networks link school and community as well as the school social system into behavior patterns that are difficult to modify. These well-established interdependencies are rarely obvious until they are disturbed by the demand for change.

Compensatory-remedial programs and equalization of facilities in response to social pressure are not strongly resisted. Although not totally acceptable to conservatives, such efforts are made attractive because federal or state money is often provided. It is doubtful that many improvements would have been made at the expense of traditional programs. Compensatory activities may enhance staff interest and motivation by providing an institutionally safe and approved outlet for the energies of liberals and radicals. Yet, by their very nature, these activities do not change the school.

DIFFERING ATTEMPTS

This chapter discusses five major attempts to change Southwestern schools. In varying degrees each has tried to modify the traditional school. Migrant education caused few substantive rearrangements of school components; rather, it extended them by distributing special services to a population in need. Changes in Crystal City, Texas, reflect a social revolution: The powerless gained power. The traditional relationships between Mexican American and Anglo and between school and community changed. In the Edgewood School District an experimental attempt at comprehensive institutional change through curricular modification was undertaken: The results are disappointing but enlightening. The effects of desegregation, the great social experiment, are examined, particularly as they relate to children. The emphasis of this chapter, however, is on bilingual education. Ten years ago this experiment showed great promise of revolutionizing school curriculums, languages of instruction, social climates, and community involvement. Federal courts ordered it and money was provided to support it. Quality education was anticipated through it. Although the last report is not in, it appears that bilingual education has become just one more compensatory program for the Chicano poor.

Schools seem to digest change. What begins as an exciting idea or a promising arrangement is radically modified in its implementation. The result is a loss of vitality and the reduction of the experimental idea to the point where it meshes with traditional orientations and practices.

Migrant education

In most respects educational improvements for migrant children have had minor effects on schools. Migrant education is not an effort to modify the school; it is included in this chapter because it represents a significant change in federal efforts and involves a massive attempt to better serve a specific group. Traditional school services have been adjusted and extended to accommodate the life-style of children. Programs are not very different, but migrant children are at least receiving more school services.

Every year approximately one million people leave their homes to work as seasonal laborers in agriculture. A large percentage make their home in south Texas or northern Mexico. From these home bases they stream northward, following work and the harvest. Although some work only in their home state, the majority travel through, and are temporary residents of, many states. Most Southwestern migrants are Spanish-speaking and of Mexican extraction, although every race and ethnic group is represented (Brunton 1971).

Migrant families are large, averaging over six members. The average income is exceedingly low: The majority earn less than the federal poverty minimum. Housing for migrants is probably worse than for any other group in the nation. Low wages, poor housing, poor nutrition, and inadequate medical attention shorten life expectancy. Migrant children face many problems. They start working at a very young age because child labor laws are poorly enforced or ignored. Attendance at school is erratic: The school year and the migrant year do not coincide. It is estimated that they cannot attend two of the eight months of regular school. Migrant children from Mexico are in school even less. No one knows how many migrant children there are or how many do not attend school at all. Migrancy compounds the usual problems of poverty. Chicano and Mexican migrants are the poorest of the poor.

The federal government officially recognized this deplorable situation in the early sixties. Legislation was enacted to improve living conditions and enhance the migrant farm workers' life chances. Funds were provided to establish adult education programs and day-care centers. Efforts were made to enforce child labor laws. States received large grants of money to improve and modify educational services for migrant children. The federal government accepted migrancy as a national and not solely a local or state problem. The rapid movement of migratory farm workers made them, in a sense, citizens of no state. Although they were legal residents of their home state, they spent no more than four months there. School officials in the communities where they temporarily resided felt no obligation to encourage, much less enforce, attendance. Southern Texas has been home base for many migrants in the Southwest; social and educational conditions in that section were probably the worst. Prejudice against Mexican Americans was and is more pronounced there than any place else. Migrants suffered discrimination in their home communities and neglect and abuse as they migrated from state to state.

Intervention in the form of federally funded and managed programs appeared to be the only feasible solution. Steps were taken to extend, expand, and modify the school to serve migrant children. One of the earliest efforts provided funds to the home community to lengthen the school day. This permitted children who had to depart before the end of the school year to gain a full year of school. In some south Texas communities special migrant schools with modified daily and yearly schedules were established. In the sixties these migrant schools were usually the oldest and poorest facilities in the district. Unfortunately, these special schools encouraged segregation and isolation of migrant children.

Efforts to adjust the school day and year are quantitative; qualitative improvements followed the pattern established to aid other disadvantaged children. One teacher in a Lower Rio Grande Valley school commented, ". . . we give them a good solid dose of remediation." "Resource rooms" were established in which migrant children were given special help for part of the day. Sometimes these resource rooms served as an extended-day activity. Remedial reading employed specially prepared, relevant migrant curricular materials. Health and nutritional deficiencies were identified, and federally funded programs were instituted to correct them. These services were in home base schools as well as those where the migrant child was a temporary resident.

Another attempt to extend the school to reach the migrant child, increase achievement, and provide instructional continuity was the mobile classroom. The mobile classroom experiment was tried by several groups of teachers in various parts of the Southwest; it quickly proved to be a failure. In one example, a group of teachers working in migrant programs in Texas followed 20 families and their children during their period of migrancy. The teachers packed texts, workbooks, paper and pencils, and other school materials into their cars. The school followed the students. The teachers taught the children as they traveled, using whatever facilities were available. Some classes were taught in churches, some in homes, and some in schools. By the time the mobile classrooms arrived in the state of Washington, only 3 of the original 20 families remained. The patterns of migrancy were obviously not so simple as many teachers had thought: Different families followed different patterns.

How to improve the quality and quantity of service to children as they migrate remains a problem. Although classrooms to follow the migrants were not feasible, modern computer technology was effective. The Migrant School Record Transfer System (MSRTS) was established to maintain school and health records on every migrant child registered. A main computer in Little Rock, Arkansas, with terminals in school districts serving large numbers of migrants, maintains constant contact with students. Arrival, departure, attendance, academic progress, and health data follow each student. This facilitates school attendance and academic progress by minimizing school bureaucratic problems and increasing time in class. A child diagnosed in California as having auditory perception problems has a better chance of receiving appropriate treatment quickly when he or she arrives in Colorado. As one state official commented, ". . . the migrant child who gets his eyes checked in Texas and moves to Washington can get the prescribed glasses there because MSRTS has his complete record sent in a matter of hours."

Most of the effort to improve academic achievement of migrant children has been concentrated at the elementary level; however, during the early 1970s some specially designed migrant high school equivalency programs were established to help dropouts complete secondary school. Once dropouts were identified, they were recruited into special programs that provided individual and small group instruction in normal high school subjects. Students were paid a stipend to attend and were provided with room and board. Those who successfully passed the high school equivalency examination were often enrolled in a bridge program to encourage them to attend college. Two popular postsecondary programs in California are the migrant minicorps and the migrant medicorps. Post-high school former migrants concurrently work toward college degrees and provide direct services to migrant children. Students work as either teaching or medical assistants. This is thought to improve migrant student achievement and self-concept by (1) providing former migrants as successful role models and (2) providing teachers and interns who are sensitive to migrant children. One major problem is that once former migrants graduate from college, they rarely return to the migrant community as professionals.

Despite federal and state endeavors to extend and improve the school, achievement of migrant children is far below the national average, and their dropout rate is very high. They perform more poorly than other Mexican American youngsters. The federal impetus has been important because it has shown that migrancy is a national problem requiring national resources and management. Cesar Chávez and the farm worker movement, together with federal efforts, have increased the Southwesterner's awareness of the complexities and seriousness of migrancy.

School-community relations

Formal experiments to effect modifications of the school have been undertaken in the past. There were attempts to convert existing institutions into community schools by (1) radically modifying the curriculum to eliminate irrelevance and conflict, (2) making the school the focal point of community development, and (3) involving the community in the decision-making process. Only the formal experiments have been recorded; undoubtedly many educators worked toward similar objectives.

Only one contemporary example of serious attempts to change the role of the school has been documented. This was not a formal, planned experiment; it was spontaneous and grew out of the social revolution in Crystal City, Texas. Other efforts to change schools radically from cultural imposition to cultural stimulation are reported but are difficult to substantiate.

The so-called Taos and Nambe projects are the best-known and best-documented early school-community development plans. Both were rural experiments in northern New Mexico. The Taos County Project was organized and administered by the University of New Mexico with financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation and private individuals (see Reid 1946). Begun in 1940 and terminated in 1943, its objectives were twofold: to involve the rural people in the solution of their own problems and to revitalize the school in order to serve all elements of the population. The community cooperated. The adults built libraries, canned food for use in school cafeterias, arranged for educational movies, and raised money for books. In a multitude of ways they worked cooperatively with the school and other institutions for community social and economic betterment. No decisions were made without consulting the people of the community. Through cooperative efforts by the community, school, and outside agencies, the people achieved their own social and economic improvements. The project, however, had its share of failures and setbacks. The Taos County Project was more nondirective and less school-oriented than the better-known Nambe Project, which was also organized around community development. In the Nambe Project the school was the primary structure through which change was to be stimulated and effected. The project represents a significant attempt to develop a curriculum fitted to the life patterns of the Spanish American and Indian populations. Although this program had considerably more central direction than did the Taos County Project, it, too, relied heavily on getting the people interested and involved in the solution of their own problems. The program was organized in 1938 by a prominent Nambe family who requested the University of New Mexico to revise the work of the village school. With the permission and cooperation of the county school board, the Nambe school was declared experimental and placed under the authority of the university. The county continued to pay the school's normal operating expenses; funds to meet the school's additional requirements were donated.

The principal objectives of the Nambe Project were to discover and solve community problems; to construct a school curriculum from the local culture; to uncover and utilize the resources of the community; to devise a craft program suitable for young children; to develop a health program; to make known to the people the services available through various governmental agencies and to teach them how to procure these services. There was an attempt to relate the curricular content of the school to the life of the Nambe people. The school emphasized natural science through the study of local plants and animals; the school's grounds were used as a soil and agricultural experiment laboratory. The program was flexible. Arithmetic was eliminated in the pre-first, first, and second grades. The staff thought the time could more profitably be used in teaching oral English and reading. As the children progressed, the curriculum was changed so that it related increasingly to the world outside Nambe. Some attempts were made to direct the people to modern agricultural, health, and nutritional practices. Tireman and Watson (1943, p. 117) reported on the academic success: "One of the outstanding accomplishments was the increased interest in education on the part of both parents and children. Fathers could see the value of a program that taught the boys how to improve their farms. They ceased to keep the boys out [of school] for trivial jobs. Sometimes they hired help. At other times, arrangements were made to excuse boys early in the afternoon. The children liked to come to school and 'playing hooky' was unusual. This interest was instrumental in changing the attitude of some parents toward attendance." No present-day counterparts of the Nambe or Taos projects have been encountered. Although the specifics of these programs may not be applicable in urbanized environments, the general approach could be used to advantage.

The fascinating story of Crystal City, Texas, and its schools is too long to do justice to it here. (For a detailed and well-documented study see Smith and Foley 1975; for a general overview of community control see Fantini, Gittell, and Mogat 1970.) A summary follows of the chain of events that upset the traditional power and ethnic relationships in this small Texas community.

Crystal City is typical of many towns in the agriculturally rich Lower Rio Grande Valley. For over 50 years the community had been socially, economically, and politically dominated by Anglo farmers and business people. Anglos were a numerical minority, but they maintained strong control of community institutions, including the schools. Beginning in the early sixties the Mexican American majority organized politically and demanded the end of overt discrimination in employment, education, and politics. In 1962 a slate of five Chicanos was elected to the city council, only to be defeated and replaced in 1965. Although the defeat was a setback, it demonstrated the potential power of the majority. The Mexican Americans continued to organize and press for representation.

The school boycott of 1969 culminated in the Mexican American majority's wresting political control from the once powerful Anglos. The movement to gain control of their institutions was essentially local, although some assistance was received from statewide Mexican American organizations. The issue around which the community mobilized was overt discrimination in the school. Quotas restricting the number of Chicanos permitted to participate in extracurricular activities were long-standing. Other acts of prejudice were also common. Petitions demanded increased Mexican American participation, the end of quotas, and greater student rights. "After the presentation of the petition to the principal, and his rejection of it, the students took their petition to the superintendent, who settled the issue by a compromise, i.e., there would be six cheerleaders, three Chicano and three Anglo. This was still greatly out of proportion to the actual numbers of students in the school, and was not satisfactory to the Chicano students, who presented additional demands regarding unequal opportunities given to Chicanos to hold other offices such as class favorite, homecoming queen, etc. The Anglos reacted. They were concerned with the blatant display of 'uppityness' on the part of the students and expressed their displeasure over the superintendent's allowing the Mexican-Americans to get out of hand by their unusual demands. [The] superintendent was reprimanded for his willingness to consider the petition, while the Mexican-American graduating seniors were made to believe that they wouldn't be graduating at all if they continued their protest activity" (Hirsch, Gutierrez, and Hinomosa 1976, p. 81). During the summer of 1969 plans were made for the boycott. The students and their parents presented a list of complaints and demands; the school board rejected them and claimed there was no discrimination in Crystal City schools. The walkout was in effect. By the middle of December school attendance was almost zero. Parents and the Chicano community actively supported the boycott. Violence was feared but did not develop. The boycott was not merely against the school and its long history of discrimination, but was accurately viewed by the Anglo community as a direct attack on their sovereignty.

The standoff was arbitrated by teams from Washington, D.C. Although not all demands were met, the students and the community gained many concessions. Most important, the success of the boycott contributed significantly to the Chicano movement and to the end of Anglo domination in Crystal City. Mechanisms were established to ensure a continuing powerful voice in school affairs for students and community. The following comments reflect the enthusiasm of the period (p. 86): "The changes which have occurred in Crystal City since this complete takeover have been far-reaching. In the schools bilingual education programs have been instituted, as has a free breakfast program. Throughout the schools a program of bicultural education has been put into operation (a critical move in enhancing Chicanos' self-esteem and thus lowering the dropout rate). In addition, the makeup of the faculty and administrative staffs has changed profoundly. The most important administrative positions (principal, assistant principal, school superintendent, etc.) have all been staffed by Chicanos sympathetic to and understanding of the needs of the student body. All teachers in the schools are bilingual, and Mexican-American teachers actually constitute a majority. The school district is also much more aware of and willing to search out and accept federal aid. Money has been received from a variety of public and private agencies. Moreover, the district has banned army recruiters from the schools and made school records private. As a result, the Selective Service System —which Chicanos often fear and distrust—has not been able to operate as it once did. Even the school band has been affected by the success of La Raza Unida Party. The band has taken on a Chicano image and is now seen at football halftimes spelling out 'Chicano' and 'Raza' to the tune of 'Jalisco' and 'De Colores.' The band has been invited to schools throughout the state to demonstrate its unique Chicano sound."

Community involvement continues, but its members no longer support many such school activities. Numerous Mexican American school administrators and teachers have come and gone. The school is reported to have undergone many changes – some reflecting the radical achievements of the early years, others moving toward conservative approaches. A continuing strong community involvement is reported, however.

Almost all federal and many state-funded programs demand the formation of a community or parent advisory council (PAC). Although guidelines are usually fairly loose, some require ethnic representation and at least 51 percent of the group must be parents of children being served. The most recent federal regulations require that parent advisory councils be composed of 100 percent parents of children being served. The only real power granted to some of these groups is the right to approve proposals. Although their function is to enhance communication between community and school (a two-way street is envisioned), most PACs perform only perfunctory duties related to project proposal endorsement. They carry the school's message to the community, not the other way around. The groups are occasionally used by districts to encourage yes votes on fiscal referendums, support for new programs, parental assistance with behavior standards, or community assistance with drug and alcohol programs. The ultimate function of the councils is to strengthen the school's position in the community. They rarely introduce community culture into the curriculum or focus community social needs on the school.

In 1972 the Civil Rights Study stated that recommendations by advisory boards on Mexican American affairs concerned more relevant curriculum, inservice teacher training on Mexican American history and culture, and employment of more Mexican American staff. The study also reported that few districts had advisory boards; of those, only 7 percent met more than five times a year (Report 3, p. 44). The number of advisory boards has increased; however, they have become increasingly powerless over the years. The sharing of decision making, or even accepting advice, is difficult for those who feel their position in the system guarantees absolute authority.

Conditions in Los Angeles are indicative of almost all advisory groups in the Southwest. "Some of the community people most involved in Los Angeles advisory councils in the beginning are the ones most turned off to them now. Councils lack authority, and there is no mandate for the schools to do anything the councils say the community wants them to do. . . . Those councils that have gotten new programs, changes in the grading system, human relations programs, have done so only because of the attitudes of the [school] staffs. Will Los Angeles councils ever have effective decision-making powers? Not if school officials can help it. In Los Angeles, clearly, the council experience has been a mixed one. Evaluations indicate that communication, not changing the fact of the schools, is the major virtue of the councils. There are councils that reflect the futile side of the concept: one has been completely neutralized by an unsympathetic principal and rendered an empty exercise in holding meetings. Another, for example, spent an entire year fighting over bylaws. Still others have become arenas for community battles over political or social issues" (Faris 1976, p. 71). Exceptions to such negative assessments are reported, which demonstrate the potential value of community involvement.

Prevalent in the past, and still common today, is the placement of strong but sympathetic principals in barrio elementary schools. This practice may encourage a *patrón-peón* relationship between the principals and the community. The principals firmly establish themselves as mediators between the barrio and the dominant society and its institutions. The community, in turn, relies heavily on the principals for all manner of assistance, advice, and intercession. The school administrators become parent figures; they have shepherded many generations through elementary school, supported them in secondary school, and ultimately helped them adjust to adult life. The role is multifaceted; the principal is confessor, bailbondsman, ombudsman, employment agency, community leader, and family counselor.

School and community relationships of this kind appear to be disappearing because many *patrón* principals are at the point of retirement; however, some younger men and women just beginning their careers may consciously or unconsciously be following the *patrón* model. This relationship is considered advantageous to Mexican Americans because a *patrón* provides the necessary buffer against Anglos. The relationship is familiar to the older generation. For each argument favoring the relationship, there is an opposing position. Rodriguez

(1966, p. 11) thinks the *patrón* impedes ethnic progress and questions the motives of "those who profess a desire for an advancement of the Mexican-American socially, educationally, economically, yet will fight against the main key to the elimination of these problems [desegregation and the closing of barrio schools]. The part that is so pitiful is that too often it is the educator who has led the opposition. Usually it is an administrator who has taken the role of the community *patrón*. . . . Because the school is accepted by the Mexican-American community as an authority not to be questioned, his word [the principal's] then becomes a fact and the children are relegated to an education that will not prepare them for life."

The bonds are often well-established and difficult to sever; the elimination of *patrón* principals must await their retirement. This kind of school-community alliance may serve a traditional, stable social order well but must be reexamined in light of present-day society. Today the *patrón-peón* relationship is not the rule; in most schools there is the traditional, somewhat aloof affiliation with the barrio.

Ten years ago many community groups and some educators were optimistic about the future of community involvement. Government agencies encouraged it by demanding advisory groups. There was even hope that radical experiments would change the role of the school in the community. Today traditional relationships persist. The advisory groups also persist, but they are generally impotent. Mechanisms for meaningful community involvement only function in conjunction with social movements. With the demise of the movements the mechanisms remain, but their functions become perfunctory.

Edgewood School Plan

The Edgewood Independent School District (EISD) is located in the western section of San Antonio. One of five metropolitan school districts that serve predominantly Mexican American populations, Edgewood has the highest percentage. Of its approximately 23,000 students, 90 percent are Chicano; 6 percent black; and 4 percent others, predominantly Anglo. The Civil Rights Study reported that San Antonio school district boundaries effectively isolate Mexican Americans and Anglos. In five districts the majority ethnic group is Mexican American; in eight the majority is Anglo (Report 1, pp. 23–25). San Antonio is a classic example of ethnic isolation by school district, and the area is so characterized in the Civil Rights Study.

According to the census of 1970, EISD had a population of 73,000 and was similar demographically to other predominantly Mexican American areas of the state. Slightly more than 90 percent of the population were Mexican American; 15 percent of the over-25 population completed less than one year of school and 16 percent completed high school. Twenty-eight percent of the population fell below federally established poverty level incomes (Cervantes and Jones 1976, p. 2). Almost one-third of the families were officially in poverty. Edgewood is an extremely poor Chicano school district, with dilapidated and inadequate housing, high unemployment and underemployment, poor school performance, and all the other familiar corollary socioeconomic conditions. Such a community was ideal for the experiment; if change could be brought about in Edgewood, it would be possible anywhere.

Edgewood became one of four urban projects funded by the Experimental Schools Program. Established in 1970, this federal program was administered first by the Office of Education and later by the National Institute of Education (NIE). It offered two advantages over most other federal programs. First, funding was guaranteed for five years; second, districts were given almost total autonomy to develop and implement their program. The premise of Experimental Schools was that educational reform is possible and would be encouraged by long-term pilot projects. The projects in turn would demonstrate that comprehensive change produces positive educational improvements. Projects were to test the assumption that combinations of promising, theoretically sound practices within a coherent design would lead to the desired educational results. In 1972 Edgewood was funded and began its experimental activities.

The history of the EISD experiment should be investigated from various social science perspectives and deserves a more lengthy description than is possible here. It is important to present an overview, however, because Edgewood is the *only* predominantly Mexican American district (or school) in the Experimental Schools Program. The outcomes of this 7- to 8-million-dollar five-year experiment are disturbing. Some of the most cherished assumptions about Mexican Americans are refuted, the viable and important theory of incompatibilities is challenged, and pessimism concerning institutional change is found to be warranted. The simple explanations of, and easy solutions to, the continuing low Mexican American school achievement and attainment are even more suspect.

The only descriptions of the Edgewood experiment are in miscellaneous documents from the district, in reports to NIE by the evaluators, and in the minds of those who participated. We had access to two of these sources: many of the reports to NIE and the recollections and impressions of the principal investigator of the evaluation team.[1] The following narrative is drawn from two documents submitted to NIE by the evaluation team (Cervantes and Jones 1976, pp. 1–210; Cervantes and Bernal 1976, pp. v–4).

> For the 13 years preceding 1968, EISD had the same Anglo superintendent who was annually reappointed by an all Mexican American school board made up largely of businessmen. In that year, however, a series of student and community protests over such basic issues as fiscal policy, teacher qualifications and ethnicity, physical plants and conditions, and the recognition of students' rights precipitated a number of rapid changes that resulted in a complete change in the board's membership and makeup, and the appointment of a Mexican American superintendent of schools.
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> Since 1968, the board made a number of important changes. Corporal punishment was immediately prohibited in the entire district (although later reinstated); the number of degreed teachers rose from 81% to 89% between 1968–1969 and 1972–1973, while during the same period the number of Mexican American teachers in the district rose from 28.4% to 36%. In cooperation with the Model Cities Program, an early childhood education center, an elementary school, and a middle school were funded and built.
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> There were 26 schools in EISD serving a student population of nearly 23,000. The basic profile of the district was one of poverty, low per pupil expenditures, low student achievement with a progressively widening gap in grade equivalency scores as measured by standardized testing instruments, high dropout rates, and high in-grade retention at the middle and high schools. This, then, rep-

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[1] Taped interview with Robert A. Cervantes, May 1977.

resented the social and educational environment into which the Edgewood School Plan (ESP) was introduced during the summer of 1972.

> The Edgewood School Plan . . . was designed as a program intended to improve student performance through a process of educational change guided by the theory of incompatibilities . . . which . . . asserted that the Edgewood schools represented a traditional system designed for white, English-speaking, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class-oriented children, staffed by teachers trained only to teach such children, and which therefore failed to speak to the cultural and learning characteristics of the student population it purported to serve. The overall goal of ESP was to redesign the educational program to eliminate existing incompatibilities and to replace them with a program that would reflect the student's cultural, language, and economic characteristics, and be compatible with his learning style. . . . five specific areas in which incompatibilities existed in the district [were cited]: poverty, mobility, culture, language, and societal perceptions.

The task of developing a total instructional program consonant with this theory and responsive to the Mexican American students served presented serious problems. A concept of compatibility was required as a base for program planning, development, and implementation. In an early effort the ". . . definition of educational compatibility was stated more in terms of a problem rather than a systematic theory. A series of symptoms suggesting the problems were delineated. The ESP staff, in a . . . [position] paper, attempted to operationalize the construct; however, its characteristics and parameters remained somewhat ambiguous." Finally, the external evaluation team, their technical assistance panel, and the NIE project officer developed the operational definition of educational compatibility as ". . . a flexible teaching-learning process in which experiences, needs, and learning characteristics of the student are purposefully the focus of personal relationships and interactions, curricular materials, methodological considerations, and educational policies; the end result would be optimal student learning. This definition was essentially pedagogical and recognized the need for congruence between the instructional/learning process and the experiential characteristics of the pupil."

With this clarification it was possible, at least in theory, to carry out the concept. "The Edgewood School Plan attempted to reduce the differences it saw as incompatible to the largely Mexican American student body by acquiring more Mexican American teachers and administrators and by encouraging the use of Spanish in both the instruction and in the class management. Further, it proposed to add Mexican American and local San Antonio topics into the curriculums in order to provide self-identification materials to heighten the interest of the students. A wide variety of curricular designs and content were adopted, adapted, or written to improve the cognitive and affective progress of the pupils. While these were not provided in a uniform pattern through the five years of the project, there was a definite move toward individualized and small group instructional techniques in most of them. Despite the changes made during the life of the project, the goals of the instruction remained essentially the same: improve the affective climate and instructional methodologies in order to obtain increased academic achievement."

To implement these and other aspects of the instructional program, assistance was required. Because day-to-day labors nearly precluded the formidable task of comprehensive change by those directly involved, an intervention or change team was created. This agency was called the Edgewood School Plan staff. At the start this staff numbered 45, including counselors, instructional coordinators, scheduling officers, and associate principals for each of the six treatment schools. The rest of the personnel, about 25, formed the so-called ESP central staff and served in a resource capacity. In operation the ESP central staff consisted of a project director and "components," each assigned specific tasks such as designing new curriculums, training teachers, monitoring content for cultural relevance, providing social services to the community, redesigning the program for the educationally handicapped, providing educational alternatives through a program of contracted instruction, and evaluating student performance and internal program activities. In reality these functions were less imposing; many were only perfunctorily performed, and others were dropped entirely during the course of the experiment. The intentions of these change agents were good, but the magnitude of implementing comprehensive change in a conservative school district presented almost insurmountable problems.

The experimental program was carried out in four elementary schools, one middle school, and one high school. A comparable group of schools was identified for comparison. (The research design and procedures are described in Appendix D.) External evaluation was keyed to two major constructs. The first was the construct of holistic or comprehensive change. "This construct implied the involvement of the total school program of the target population, and the implementation of a systematic, district-wide program design, rather than a series of piecemeal changes." This involved study and analysis of (1) the instructional program itself, (2) the factors that facilitated or impeded change, and (3) the internal evaluation. The second construct involved the educational application of the theory of incompatibilities: ". . . the entire system of schooling was to be changed in order to eliminate perceived incompatibilities or conflicts between the traditional white, middle-class educational system and the characteristics of the Mexican American learner." The question became: Did the total instructional program have its desired effect on students? Did the program evoke improved school performance? Three major assumptions were drawn from these two constructs:

1. The affective variables of school self-concept, motivation, and attitudes of Mexican American students are low as compared with other white and minority-group students.

2. There are high, direct correlations among self-concept, motivation, attitude, and achievement.

3. An increase in positive self-concept, motivation, and attitude, presumably produced in this case as a program impact, would result in concomitant increases in achievement.

The research team reported on related aspects: cognition, affect, student and teacher behavior, social climate, perceptions of school, community involvement, and fiscal and management policy and practice. (These reports are listed in Appendix E.) Four years of implementation and five years of study led the evaluation team to the following conclusions:

"No major differences were found between the treatment and comparison groups at the beginning of the four-year period. Research question one examined the district premise that their youngsters were low or negative in affect. Examination of self-concept and attitudes found these Mexican American students at or above the norm for the instruments. They were somewhat below the norm in motivation for some of the years in which they were measured. Achievement was below the norm every year.

"Research question two probed the efficacy of the treatment program in improving the affect of the students and thereby raising their achievement scores. The data from all students completing the affective and cognitive instruments in any one year were analyzed cross sectionally; those students present across the tracked period, the longitudinal subsample, were studied cross sectionally and via repeated measures analysis. Blocking for grade, sex, and group (treatment and comparison), the affective variables (self-concept, motivation, and achievement, affiliation, and inclusion attitude) and the cognitive variables (reading, language, arithmetic, total achievement, and study skills) were analyzed where applicable.

"Few significant effects were found. Those that did occur tended to be cognitive rather than affective, and most of the differences were between males and females with the latter scoring higher. At grade 4 in Cohort I, the comparison students scored higher in achievement than the treatment students. Fewer differences were found with the longitudinal than with the cross-sectional samples. When the cohort groups were studied across time via the repeated measures analysis, no affective differences remained, that is to say, the differences had been short run and had not persisted across the life of the project. One cognitive difference continued: the comparison scored higher in language than the treatment in Cohort I. In summary, the authors concluded that the treatment program had not been efficacious in promoting either the psychosocial or cognitive growth of the students.

"Because of the treatment program's proposition that improvement in affect would concomitantly raise achievement, research question three examined the influence of the affective variables on cognitive performance. Utilizing multiple regression analyses with stepwise inclusion and canonical correlation analyses. . . . the amount of variance . . . was determined by grade and sex for the longitudinal subsamples. The few sporadic and inconsistent findings, perhaps due to chance, led the authors to conclude that the effect of affect on the achievement of these Mexican American children was negligible. Sex differences were likewise unimportant in these analyses; grade did not produce significant differences."

The investigators found that (1) Mexican American students are similar to other students in psychosocial aspects, (2) educational treatment did not change this, and (3) measured academic achievement was not improved by four years of treatment. If Mexican Americans are not atypical in psychosocial aspects, the theory of incompatibilities does not explain their poor school performance. The assumption underlying the theory is questioned: If Chicanos are not different, then what is incompatible? Further explanation of these troubling conclusions is essential.

It could be argued that the Edgewood School Plan did not identify the significant psychosocial and cultural differences, or that the psychometric instruments utilized in research did not measure them (although the instruments were chosen with care). Unfortunately, NIE did not approve the request to study cognitive style, field sensitivity and independence, or child-rearing practices; or the request to employ ethnographic approaches to community or school. Despite these omissions, the findings are based on a large sample of Mexican Americans, corroborated by many similar studies in southern Texas, and supported by research elsewhere. The results seriously weaken both the deprivation and incompatibility arguments.

The failure of the experimental instructional program to improve affective functioning raises other questions; for example, there is concern about the quality of the treatment. It is doubtful that the program was designed to improve affect. ESP did not define cultural compatibilities, nor was there a demonstrable relationship between the instructional program and psychosocial or cultural attributes of the students. Nothing done by ESP was directly or logically related either to the elimination of curricular and cultural incompatibility or to the improvement of Mexican Americans' assumed affective defects. There are two exceptions to this statement. Treatment did attempt to meet the needs of Spanish speakers; about one-third of the students were Spanish-dominant, one-third bilingual, and one-third English-dominant. The other exception was the effort to introduce local and Hispanic-Mexican-Chicano culture. This was uneven and sporadic and usually presented a culture of questionable relevance to the children. There is reason to believe that the treatment was inappropriate to eliminate incompatibilities and incongruities between culture and school.

Another possible explanation for the failure to improve affect and thus achievement is that treatment was not sustained. The instruction was of uneven quality; was on-again, off-again; and did not have consistent teacher support. Instead of a total and integrated instructional program, unrelated and nonsequenced pieces were combined. Individualized programs, traditional compensatory and remedial activities, and other promising plans were apparently put together with no rationale or justification. It is doubtful that teachers understood, accepted, or pushed the instructional program. A possible exception was an individualized arithmetic curriculum that gained teacher endorsement and enthusiasm.

Corollary to the judgment that there was no integrated total program is the possibility that no "experiment" occurred. We have suggested in other sections that a crucially important ingredient is the Hawthorne effect – the development among participants of a feeling of excitement, group and self importance, cohesiveness, dedication, and enthusiasm. This sense of involvement was not reported at Edgewood. The experiment may have been dysfunctional: The manner of its implementation (perhaps imposition) discouraged its success. It is possible that the principal justification for the five-year experiment was nothing more than the need for federal funds to augment the budget of an incredibly poor school district. The information gained from interviews leads us to suggest: (1) The administration did not accept or understand ESP and gave it only perfunctory attention because they considered it a terminal program. (2) The ESP staff perceived the experiment as an opportunity to improve their own socioeconomic positions and professional opportunities; the experiment became the vested interest of the staff assigned to implement it. (3) The instructional staff saw the experiment as an imposition from which they would get no socioeconomic and little professional reward for participation. The instructors were rarely consulted; their input was not seriously considered. Instructional staff cooperation in the implementation of the various programs represented punishment rather than reward. They were given more work without concomitant improvements in professional, economic, or personal status. The community was never significantly involved; 30 or 40 parents (usually the same ones) had perfunctory support duties. It is doubtful that any positive sense of experiment developed. If it had, the product should have been a measurable improvement in school social climate and in student academic achievement. Student views and perceptions of school should have improved.

Although the cause of the apparent failure is uncertain, the findings seriously question the theory of incompatibilities and the deprivationists' assumptions as well as the efficacy of federally funded experiments. The evaluators investigated only a few of the significant variables, but they reaffirmed that we don't know what causes low Mexican American achievement nor do we know enough about the internal social workings of experimentation.

Desegregation outcomes

As described in Chapter 4, few school districts are moving to end de facto segregation and ethnic isolation. Some educators, however, believe that desegregation would be the single most effective measure to improve Mexican American achievement and participation. Others insist that sustained, equal-status interaction between Mexican Americans and other groups in mixed schools would contribute to reduced mutual stereotyping, better intergroup relations, and improved school social climates. Despite social, legal, and educational arguments that support desegregation, little is being done to achieve it. The schools' failure to act in the apparent best interests of children reflects community attitudes. Most vocal and powerful community groups do not favor desegregation, and therefore few administrators promote it. Research on the outcomes of desegregation are inconclusive, but tend to be discouraging. Unfortunately, negative reports are used to support community desires for ethnic isolation.

The consequences of desegregation depend on objectives. Two principal goals correspond closely to the two previously discussed perspectives concerning the education of poor and minority children. The familiar cultural deficit perspective, with its emphasis on overcoming the failings of poor and minority children, is the most widespread. Desegregationists who take this view are ". . . concerned with explaining why it seems that low-income minority groups have not acquired American middle-class attitudes, values, and behaviors. The problem . . . arises from the lack of contact low-income minority-group children have with the American middle class, especially within the schools during the children's formative years. It is assumed that this contact will alleviate the problem" (Kirk and Goon 1975, p. 600).

Contact with middle-class majority-group students is viewed as a potentially powerful compensatory program. Gerard and Miller exemplified this position in explaining their assumptions about desegregation in Riverside, California (1976, pp. 68–69): ". . . the achievement gap between white and minority students resulted from differences in motivation or orientation. We also assumed that these differences in motivation were reversible, and that the younger the child was, the easier it would be for society to intervene. . . . contact between races would cause minority students to become more similar to the white majority in their personalities, values, beliefs, and behavior. Research in the mid-60s and later – notably that of sociologist James S. Coleman – discovered a strong relationship between the percentage of white pupils in a class and the scores of black children on standardized achievement tests. The more white kids there were, the better the black kids did. . . . teachers would teach up to the higher-achieving white students and that minority students would soon bootstrap themselves up to this higher level. Competition, high aspirations, and high standards would narrow the achievement gap by strengthening minority performance. New values and changes in those aspects of personality that might influence achievement, such as the ability to postpone immediate gratification and set realistic goals, would lead to a new literacy, a new striving after education."

Desegregation, by providing contact with the so-called advantaged children in middle-class schools, would overcome the deficiencies induced by home and peer socialization and would improve the disadvantaged children. Almost all educational thinkers and practitioners made similar assumptions. Desegregation was another activity to help the black and Chicano become more like the white. Success or failure of desegregation is viewed in terms of academic growth, as measured by standardized instruments, and attitudinal change, as measured by motivation, self-concept, and self-confidence. It cannot be documented that desegregation has accomplished these objectives. Either we haven't tried hard enough, or our assumptions and goals are incorrect.

The other perspective postulates that segregation and isolation are inherently evil or dysfunctional and that they perpetuate racial strife, inequality, group subordination, racism, classism, and stereotyping. The structural environmentalist maintains that society is reflected in the school and that the institution must provide an integrated environment where future generations can prepare themselves to counter such undesirable aspects of our society. Handlin made this case for integration (1966, p. 270): "In the past decade, emphasis has gradually and imperceptibly shifted from desegregation to integration, but without adequate awareness of the consequences and often with a profound ambiguity about the nature of the desirable goal. The term integration sometimes refers to the openness of society, to a condition in which every individual can make the maximum number of voluntary contacts with others without regard to qualifications of ancestry. In that sense, the objective is a leveling of all barriers to association other than those based on ability, taste, and personal preference. But integration sometimes also refers to a condition in which individuals of each racial or ethnic group are randomly distributed through the society so that every realm of activity contains a representative cross section of the population. In that sense, the object is the attainment, in every occupational, educational, and residential distribution, of a balance among the constituent elements in the society."

In his 1970 decision to end segregation in Corpus Christi, Texas, Judge Seals took the integrationist position and eloquently argued from legal, social, and educational perspectives (*Cisneros* v. *Corpus Christi Independent School District*, p. 620):

> While many of our institutions have a tendency to divide us, religious institutions, social institutions, economic institutions, political institutions, the public school institution, as I see it, is the one unique institution which has the capacity to unite this Nation and to unite this diverse and pluralistic society that we have. We are not a homogeneous people; we are a heterogeneous people, we have many races, many religions, many colors in America. Here in the public school system as young Americans, they can study, play together, interact, they will get to know one another, to respect the others' differences, to tolerate each other even though of a different race, color, religious, social, or ethnic status.

School environments should reflect such conditions. Outcomes of integration are not obvious and are difficult to study objectively. Institutional analysis is possible, however, to determine school racist policies or procedures, other subordinating mechanisms, ethnic cleavage, curricular or other stereotyping, and the quality of teacher expectations.

Integrationists assume that with the elimination of negative conditions and the substitution of positive ones, the children who were previously discriminated against will participate fully in all aspects of school. Minority academic achievement and attainment will ultimately be raised as institutional racism and similar subordinating practices are supplanted by positive approaches and relevant formal and informal curriculums. But there is little reason to believe that Americans have adopted integration as a goal, nor is there evidence that the school social climate of desegregated schools has improved.

Desegregation is rarely evaluated in terms of the two basic perceptions and goals. More often the compensatory orientation is the focus and the outcome analyzed. Many reviews and analyses of desegregation have been made. Although these studies usually concern blacks and whites, not Chicanos, there is no reason to believe the outcomes for Chicanos differ. The most comprehensive of these reviews is *School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children*, by Nancy St. John (1975). St. John summarized (p. 36): ". . . adequate data have not yet been gathered to determine a causal relation between school racial composition and academic achievement. More than a decade of considerable research effort has produced no definitive positive findings. In view of the political, moral, and technical difficulties of investigation on this question, it is doubtful that all the canons of the scientific method will ever be met or a causal relationship ever established. Suggestive trends have been uncovered, however, as has one important negative finding: desegregation has rarely lowered academic achievement for either black or white children." It appears that the mere mixing of bodies in a school has little direct influence on achievement. The quality of the mixing, the quality of the teaching, and the social climate of the desegregated school are most important. In this vein St. John concluded in an earlier review of desegregation literature (1970, p. 128): "Though as yet unsupported by adequate field research, the most plausible hypothesis is that the relation between [desegregation] and achievement is a conditional one: the academic performance of minority group children will be higher in [desegregated] than in equivalent segregated schools, providing they are supported by staff and accepted by peers."

The school, whether segregated or desegregated, seems to have less influence on academic performance than do the home, neighborhood, and peer environment. Mere contact with other ethnic or racial groups does not raise achievement. Desegregation as a compensatory program cannot be demonstrated to reach its objective of improved cognitive development.

Contact with the majority group was also assumed to improve minority-group attitude. Although cognitive performance is commonly studied and reported by school districts, self-concept, motivation, and attitude are not. St. John (1975) and Armour (1972) reported that a limited number of desegregation studies of anxiety or stress indicated nothing conclusive. St. John found (p. 52) "little support for the assumption that desegregation of public schools automatically raises black self-esteem." Armour's research indicated that desegregation does not affect self-esteem in a consistent or significant way. One outcome of the analysis of self-concept and desegregation was unanticipated: Scholars are beginning to question the very assumption that low self-esteem characterizes minority groups. Aspiration levels do not seem to rise as a consequence of desegregation; however, as with assumptions concerning low self-esteem, current research reveals that attributing low aspiration levels to minority children may not be valid.

A note of caution: What is reported to be a mixed ethnic and racial school may not in reality be desegregated. Grouping or tracking may cause internal segregation and ethnic and racial isolation. Classroom mixing rather than mixed schools may be a more important variable. Compensatory outcomes in mixed classrooms have not been investigated. Does sustained, equal-status interaction result in minority-group improvement in measured achievement and attitudes? The question remains unanswered.

We have reviewed many desegregation studies and have observed, interviewed, and consulted in numerous desegregated schools. Our conclusions are: (1) Desegregation as a compensatory program has not been demonstrated to raise academic performance or to improve self-esteem, motivation, or aspiration. (2) Contact with whites in school will not break the pattern of poverty. (3) Assumptions about minority psychological attributes—self-concept, aspiration levels—must be seriously questioned. These "factual bases" are in doubt; the deficient may at closer look be sufficient.

What of the other sets of objectives—those based on institutional climate? Is school integration being accomplished? Integration, as defined earlier, has not been demonstrated in the studies reviewed. We agree with St. John (1975, pp. 84–85): "Twenty years ago [Gordon] Allport . . . concluded on the basis of existing evidence that contact between ethnic groups leads to reduced prejudice only if such contact is prolonged, is between equals in the pursuit of common goals, and enjoys the sanction of those in authority. On the surface these conditions appear to be satisfied for children attending classes together: they are in sustained contact authorized by the school board and superintendent, are in pursuit of the common goal of an education, and are equal in their status as pupils.

"Reflection suggests, however, that classroom contact is often short run, competitive, and between unequals, and, though formally sanctioned, may be informally resented and bypassed by those in authority. Thus most experiments in desegregation are too new to have as yet permitted sustained [equal-status] contact. Official sanction for desegregation does not assure conditions favorable to real integration in those schools in which principals or teachers are personally biased. Inequality in children's ascribed characteristics (SES and academic preparation) often handicaps their equal status as pupils."

The following conclusions concerning institutional climate stem from research, analysis, and personal experience. (1) The objective of improving race relations has rarely been accepted, and few serious efforts have been made to achieve it. (2) Desegregation without improved school social climate may be detrimental to race relations. (3) The subordinate objective of enhanced achievement and attainment through improved social climate is not being reached. (4) In general, little has been done to improve the quality of education through desegregation. The limited efforts toward desegregation of schools in the Southwest are threatened by such research findings. Neither the compensatory nor integration objectives of desegregation are being realized. Improvements in race relations have not materialized; they are rarely seriously attempted. Southwestern schools have done little and proved less. Racial isolation is either constant or increasing. The most important variable is institutional social climate. With time and sustained efforts to eliminate negative factors, climate will be conducive to improved Mexican American achievement. Desegregation can lead to social integration and thus be a major ingredient of better social climate.

We concur with Katz, who (1964, p. 383) ". . . reviewed studies to examine those conditions accompanying desegregation that are potentially detrimental or favorable to improved academic performance. [He] proposes that the social conditions in the school and the classroom, the degrees of acceptance by white peers and teachers (i.e., significant others), and the black student's achievement motivation derived from his perception of the probability of social and intellectual success or failure, all act to determine how well black pupils will perform academically in desegregated schools." These positive conditions will encourage achievement in any school. But there is little reason to believe that school desegregation as a socially useful and functional endeavor will seriously be undertaken soon. Two factors discourage it: Improved academic achievement, the all-pervasive goal of the accountability movement, has not been demonstrated. Unfortunately, society seems unconcerned with social integration as a national goal.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

With the exception of desegregation, the most important effort to change the school is bilingual education. Confusion surrounds the phrase. Most educators ascribe their own meaning. The most common understanding is that it's something done to help bilingual children in school. "Bilingual kids" is a common Southwestern euphemism for Mexican Americans. Bilingual education thus has come to mean any of an assortment of programs geared to raise achievement and attainment of Chicanos. In this section an attempt is made to separate and define language programs and bilingual-bicultural organization. Examples of different types of programs within each category are presented, as well as an overview of the many facets of government intervention. The last part of the section poses a crucial question, "Does it work?"

Language programs in the Southwest

There is widespread misunderstanding about the objectives, content, techniques, and organization of school language programs. The basic distinction between foreign or second language teaching and bilingual school programs is rarely understood by school practitioners. A foreign language program involves the teaching and learning of a language new to students: It is to be learned essentially for its own sake. In a bilingual program two languages are used for instruction.

The languages are learned so that the culture they carry can also be learned. English as a Second Language (ESL), Foreign Languages in Elementary Schools (FLES), and any other program to teach an unknown or new language to whatever group of children at any level are foreign or second language instruction programs. A school cannot be defined as bilingual merely because two languages are taught. For example, schools providing classes in ESL or Spanish as a Second Language (SSL) are not bilingually organized. They merely have two foreign language programs.

In the last 15 years a new kind of language program has emerged. Programs to teach Spanish to Spanish speakers have gained in popularity. Whether these are classified as language or as bilingual programs depends on the curricular content and on the objectives. If the content areas are traditionally associated with language teaching – for example, the language's grammar, pronunciation, spelling, drama, literature, or business correspondence – it is a language program. If other curricular content is carried – for example, world history, biology, arithmetic, or algebra – it is a component of bilingual education.

Table 58 graphically depicts the status of language programs in the Southwest. All the language program types have two common objectives: (1) competency in listening, speaking, reading, and writing the language and (2) knowledge of the culture the language carries – art, literature, history, great persons, and so forth. This applies whether the language taught is native or foreign. In addition to these two major objectives, given programs state or imply other indicated goals. English for English speakers (C-1) and English for Spanish speakers (B-2) are the standard school approaches. In these types both Spanish- and English-speaking children are presented the regular school curriculum in the English language. The objective is to make both linguistic and ethnic groups competent in English and carriers of the dominant culture. Spanish for English speakers (A-1, 2) is a common foreign language program in the Southwest. Its teaching approach varies from the old emphasis on grammar to the modern total physical response, oral language development, and audiolingual techniques. The most common special language program is some variant of teaching English as a Second Language to Spanish speakers (B-1). The ESL program provides more intensive and structured exposure and uses audiolingual approaches; it tends to be mechanical in its stress on English and to weaken the Spanish language. The objective continues to be to bring the Chicano child into American culture. (ESL is discussed as a compensatory program in Chapter 6.)

A school may have any or all of these language programs and yet not offer a bilingual-bicultural program; however, ESL and Spanish for Spanish speakers can be the language arts components of a bilingually organized school. If they are not accompanied by other components, they are bridge programs to help Spanish speakers learn to function in the English-speaking school and society. Their use in bilingual schools is discussed in the following section.

In the 1960s the Miami Linguistic Reader, with its recommended

Table 58: Southwestern Language Programs

PROGRAMS TO TEACH NEW LANGUAGE			
Type	*Program*	*Content*	*Objectives*
A. Spanish for English speakers	1. Foreign Languages in Elementary Schools	1. Hispanic literary culture Traditional language skills	1. Competence Knowledge of Hispanic culture
	2. Traditional Spanish language program	2. Hispanic literary culture Traditional language skills	2. Competence Knowledge of Hispanic culture
B. English for Spanish speakers	1. English as a Second Language	1. U.S. literary culture Traditional language skills	1. Competence Knowledge of U.S. culture
	2. Regular school program	2. U.S. culture as represented in standard curriculum	2. Acculturation

activities, was successfully used as a method of teaching English and reading to Spanish monolinguals and as a regular reader for all students. During the seventies little has been heard about the Miami Linguistic Reader, although it was reported that (1) children projected themselves into its content and characters; (2) the organization of the small instructional groups encouraged children's spontaneity and naturalness; (3) teachers understood and used the linguistic approach exemplified in the series; and (4) teachers seemed quite comfortable with the system explained in the manual.

Programs of English as a Second Language have many variations. A few classes observed adequately utilized modern audiolingual and

PROGRAMS TO TEACH NATIVE LANGUAGE

Type	*Program*	*Content*	*Objectives*
C. English for English speakers	1. Regular school program	1. U.S. literary culture Traditional language skills	1. Competence Knowledge of U.S. literary culture Enculturation
D. Spanish for Spanish speakers	1. Special school program	1. Hispanic culture Traditional language skills	1. Competence Knowledge of Hispanic literary culture Pride in antecedents Enhanced self-image
	2. Bridge	2. Hispanic culture as bridge to U.S. culture U.S. literary culture Traditional language skills	2. Competence Knowledge of U.S. culture Acculturation

oral language development techniques, but others relied almost exclusively on traditional grammar approaches. Some districts use sophisticated electronic language laboratories, language masters, and computer-assisted instruction; most fail to take advantage of even the rudimentary mechanical or electronic teaching aids. In summary: (1) If the audiolingual, ESL, and oral language development techniques are to be used, a massive inservice teacher-training program is essential. (2) Few sophisticated language laboratories are operated with maximum efficiency. (3) Often the teachers are poor English or Spanish models because of their own nonstandard, sometimes accented speech. This last point is becoming critical as more teachers turn over ESL to their aides, many of whom are defective in English. Accents are usually detrimental to children's future social success.

Another significant language program is the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speakers. Spanish-dominant speakers enter school with Spanish aural and oral proficiency. Both the traditional model and the ESL model do not build on the capability that Spanish speakers bring with them. These programs share the two major objectives, language competence and an understanding of the literary culture, common to all language programs. Both are based on the assumption that a sound training in Spanish (aural, oral, reading, writing) will provide a bridge to speed the learning of English (Table 58, D-2). According to Guerra (1967, p. 2), one aspect of such programs is ". . . to establish psychological rapport between teacher and learner in order to begin English instruction using Spanish as the familiar frame of reference; that is, Spanish as a bridge to learn English." All the contemporary language programs to teach Spanish to Spanish speakers were originally meant to provide a bridge to English, and they differ in their stress on Hispanic culture and their priorities and objectives. Hispanic culture programs (Table 58, D-1) have as their objective the promotion of the youngster's pride in the Hispanic-Mexican cultural tradition. The emphasis is intended to remedy the child's assumed negative self-concept and to develop a positive sense of identity. This strategy is compensatory in that it glorifies a culture in order to enhance the child's self-image.

A program in Tucson's Pueblo High School was a good example. Spanish was taught to Spanish speakers to bridge Spanish to English. For the four high school years ". . . attention is given to the basic skills of speaking, reading and writing [in Spanish]. Equal, if not even greater, emphasis is given to helping the student develop a more positive self-concept through the study of his rich Spanish and Mexican cultural heritage" (National Education Association 1966, pp. 22–23). Tucson's experimenters were exuberant over the success of their program.

In many contemporary classes to teach Spanish to Spanish speakers, there are disturbing trends, similar to those observed in English as a Second Language classes. Teaching is repetitious and emphasizes skills rather than concept development. Spanish programs also have other faults. A growing dependence on foreign countries for Spanish language materials may encourage the students' feeling that their language and their life-style are of less value than those of Mexico, Spain, or Chile. A foreign language and irrelevant, perhaps conflicting, culture are given tacit school approval. This may not be so important as a related problem: The introduction of such materials discourages the use of the vernacular. Projective curricular techniques become increasingly rare as dependence on imported curriculum increases. The local culture is thus excluded. Under these conditions it is more difficult to gear instruction to the language level of students; the tendency is to adjust the learners to the text. Observations also confirm that the language spoken in the home and barrio is used in ways that disparage it and subordinate those who speak it. The local vernacular is reserved for explaining difficult concepts or constructions of standard Spanish, translating, classroom management and control, and reprimanding students. Not one of these enhances the status of the home language. Unfortunately, Spanish for Spanish speakers may encourage the same denigration of home language and life-style that characterized earlier periods when the Spanish language was prohibited.

Many programs funded under Title VII of ESEA are bridge, Spanish-to-Spanish, and ESL programs. So-called bilingual programs are often language programs of these types. Despite their numerous benefits to the child and to the nation, another note of caution must be interjected. Conservative or prejudiced school boards and educators could favor programs to teach Mexican American children in Spanish. Classes in Spanish for Spanish speakers could be used to justify present or future segregation of the group; if it is best to teach these children in Spanish, it can be argued that it is most efficient to isolate them from those taught in English. Spanish speaker suggests Chicano to most educators, and all children with Spanish surnames or dark faces could be encouraged to learn their native tongue regardless of the status of the language in their homes or their ability to use it. This is a consideration for both Spanish language and bilingual-bicultural programs. An appellate federal court has ruled in *Keys* in Denver that desegregation takes precedence over plans that cause segregation due to programmatic arrangements. Many language programs report success, but objective data are not available to demonstrate the effectiveness of any specific approach. Given student motivation and a reasonably well-organized program, ESL reaches its objectives. Spanish-to-Spanish programs have obvious advantages. These programs exemplify what can be accomplished when theory is seriously applied to educational practice.

Bilingual-bicultural organization

The previously described language programs are components of bilingual education. They contribute to, but are not the totality of, bilingual-bicultural (BLBC) school organization, which is a comprehensive institutional commitment and touches all school activities. It requires major changes in the languages of instruction, the source and nature of the formal curriculum, and the skills and understanding of the staff. It can have a major influence on informal curriculum, school social climate, and relationships with the community. Bilingual-bicultural organization is a total concept; implementing it demands substantial institutional modification. Providing language programs or other specific ingredients of bilingual education does not encourage change; they are merely additions. Many schools have some components; few have undertaken BLBC organization. Most educators consider both approaches compensatory and remedial steps to meet the needs of bilingual and Spanish-dominant disadvantaged Chicanos. Others (the minority) see language programs as compensatory, but view BLBC organization as an exciting experiment to improve the quality of schooling for *all* children.

Bilingual education was defined by the United States Office of Education (1970, p. 1): "The use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organized program that encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue; a complete program develops and maintains the children's self-esteem and legitimate pride in both cultures." This definition is based on the idea of cultural sufficiency and cultural pluralism. Programs should reflect the languages and cultures extant in the community. The only undertone of cultural deprivation is the implicit idea of negative self-concept. Bilingual education is perceived as a vehicle to school the children of two linguistic and cultural traditions. The cultures of both become the dual curriculums, and the languages of both carry these curriculums. The objective is to reflect the bicultural community and to develop the children of both groups into bilingual-bicultural Americans who understand and appreciate both traditions. The program assumes that through this school experience the children will gain the skills and knowledge necessary to function successfully in the two societies.

The few Southwestern schools that even approach the ideal model described above are located in bicultural areas—communities that are more or less balanced between their Mexican American Spanish-speaking and Anglo English-speaking components. These communities are usually along the border with Mexico, in northern New Mexico, or in southern Colorado. In these areas, however, as elsewhere in the Southwest, we are more likely to encounter schools whose bilingual program bears only slight resemblance to the ideal model. Most schools merely have language programs within an otherwise traditional organization. The programs and activities discussed in the previous section would almost invariably be described by those involved as "bilingual programs."

Between the ideal model and the opposite extreme of an ESL class labeled bilingual, the possible variations seem limitless. Mackey, one of the foremost authorities on bilingualism, identified almost 100 educational designs that are considered bilingual (1970, pp. 73–82). In attempting to categorize variations, keep the ideal model in mind and remember that a bilingually and biculturally organized school (1) draws its curriculums—content, method, and sequence—from two cultures; (2) carries these two curriculums in two languages, English and Spanish; and (3) devotes approximately equal time to both elements. By careful observation and analysis of an individual school you can determine to what degree and in what manner it varies from the ideal model. Labeling a variation bilingual does little harm unless it so seriously distorts the real situation as to dupe the community, teachers, or funding agency; raises expectations that cannot be reached by the program; or so confuses evaluation as to render it meaningless and the results nonattributable to treatment. Regrettably, some of these conditions are found in Southwestern bilingual projects.

Bilingual-bicultural organization can be further analyzed. Speaking solely to the issue of language, Gaarder suggested there are two distinct types of programs and two sets of reasons for implementing them (1967, p. 110). The reasons for adding the mother tongue as a teaching medium (for example, Spanish for Spanish speakers) are "(1) to avoid or lessen scholastic retardation in children whose mother tongue is not the principal school language; (2) to strengthen the bonds between home and school; (3) to avoid the alienation from family and linguistic community that is commonly the price of rejection of one's mother tongue and of complete assimilation into the dominant linguistic group; and (4) to develop strong literacy in the mother tongue in order to make it a strong asset in the adult's life." The reasons for adding a second tongue as a teaching medium (for example, Spanish for English speakers) are "(1) to engage the child's capacity for natural, unconscious language learning; (2) to avoid the problems of method, aptitude, etc., which beset the usual teaching of second languages; (3) to make the second language a means to an end rather than an end in itself; and (4) to increase second language experience without crowding the curriculum." In most respects these reasons apply to English or Spanish as second languages; however, by making them the carriers of culture, a natural learning environment is encouraged.

Further, Gaarder differentiates between one-way and two-way BLBC schools. In one-way schools one group of children (for example, Spanish speakers) learn in two languages, the national language and their mother tongue. In two-way schools two groups (Spanish speakers and English speakers) learn in both languages. The former is by far the most common arrangement; however, it can be confusing for the children. Both patterns can encourage ethnic group isolation. A one-way school that includes only Mexican American Spanish-dominant children is obviously segregated. A two-way school that includes Mexican American English-dominant and Mexican American Spanish-dominant children is equally segregated. Educators who recommend bilingualism for the benefit of Spanish-dominant children only are often accused of fostering segregation, as in the Denver plan proposed by Cardenas. This example of the application of the theory of incompatibilities was thought to lead to segregation and was denied as a legal remedy by the federal courts. Educators who contend that bilingual education is for the benefit of all children usually want two-way desegregated schools. In their minds this fosters equal-status interaction and the other benefits of integration discussed earlier in this chapter; the two bearers of the two languages and the two cultures interact for the enrichment of both populations. Most one- and two-way schools in the Southwest are segregated; a few two-way schools are desegregated.

One other distinction must be made. There are two sets of reasons for bilingual-bicultural organization. The more common rationale is clearly patterned on assumptions of deprivation. Most government guidelines and most projects are transitional. BLBC is viewed as an effective activity to move the Spanish-dominant disadvantaged child into the educational mainstream. These adjust-the-child programs are similar in justification and intent to Spanish-to-Spanish-speaker bridge programs or to ESL. Success or failure of a transition program is judged as are other compensatory and remedial activities: The goal is students who are similar to, and behave academically like, the average Anglo child.

The other rationale for BLBC is the cultural sufficiency–institutional deficiency argument. This is called a maintenance-enrichment approach. Language and traditions of both ethnic and language groups are maintained and, in the process, both are enriched. Advocates see schools, programs, and activities based on these theories to be exciting and promising experiments in quality education. They contend that maintenance-enrichment BLBC organization in a two-way integrated setting will ultimately raise achievement because it eliminates irrelevance, discrimination, and ethnocentricity. The evaluation of such efforts is difficult without long-term and comprehensive measurements.

The first and best example of BLBC organization was in the United Consolidated Independent School District of Laredo, Texas. This was a two-phase effort in the mid-1960s to remedy the years of educational neglect of the Mexican American population. Phase 1 was essentially remedial. Phase 2 was an ambitious attempt to organize a bilingual-bicultural school in a desegregated environment. The district developed a two-way design based on maintenance and enrichment goals.

Two districts serve the Laredo area: One encompasses the large metropolitan area, and United Consolidated covers the suburban and agricultural areas surrounding the city. Although United's enrollment is relatively small, the area is 2,440 square miles (larger than Rhode Island). Three elementary schools and one junior-senior high school serve the community. When the BLBC program was developed, the student population of these schools was 30 percent Anglo and 70 percent children of Mexican descent; 10 to 20 percent of the latter were from middle-class families, and the rest were children of farm and ranch laborers. The middle-class Mexican American children were bilingual in English and Spanish at school entrance. Most of the Anglo children were middle-class. Many were children of United States Air Force personnel stationed at the local base and, typical of many military families, were highly mobile. The children had been exposed to numerous sociocultural environments and many had attended school in foreign countries. Thus, the United students were somewhat different from those of the Laredo Independent School District, which serves the metropolitan area and has a larger percentage of Mexican Americans, most of them from low socioeconomic homes. Laredo was and is one of the most economically depressed areas in the nation.

United Consolidated advanced on a number of fronts to reverse the high attrition rate among its Chicano students. Phase 1 was a series of attempts to salvage the overage and low-achieving Mexican Americans already in the upper elementary and secondary grades. Phase 2 was a bilingual-bicultural experiment to promote normal achievement and eliminate the problems that necessitated phase 1. The first phase included instruction geared to keep children in school while remedying their academic deficiencies, training them for a useful and satisfying occupation, and maintaining or raising their self-respect. Activities in art and music were reported to give youngsters a sense of personal achievement and to make school intrinsically rewarding. Achievement was thus encouraged and realized in areas not dependent on English language ability. In addition to programs geared to keep students in school, United provided a language laboratory with a completely bilingual teacher who reinforced the student's ability to operate in the English language and American culture. United's philosophy was that such programs would not get these children into college but would aid them to live and function in society. The high school provided an excellent building-trades vocational program that was not a prevocational activity but prepared students to enter certain crafts at least at the apprentice level. Girls were given homemaking and business training. Not one of the phase 1 programs in itself was exceptional, but the combined efforts and enthusiasm of the school board, administration, and staff encouraged the school social climate essential for success. Nowhere else were so many pupils observed participating in so many different school activities. New, distinctive, and well-maintained physical plants may also have contributed to the happy situation.

The phase 2 bilingual-bicultural program in the first through sixth grades was based on the belief that no child should be monolingual in areas where two languages are used. The personnel at United undoubtedly concurred with objectives stated by Michel (in Stubing 1966, p. 39): "Perhaps the most important objective of the bilingual program is to enable all children to operate comfortably in two cultures. The non-English-speaking child who is suddenly taken from his home and introduced into the strange environment of the school experiences embarrassment and confusion. But if he is greeted in his own language by a teacher who is obviously a member of his own language community and finds that his language is used freely in the classroom and throughout the school, his situation is made less traumatic. If, in addition, he finds that as a member of a non-English-speaking group he is not treated as a second-class human being, the boost to his self-esteem is likely to result in all sorts of psychological and social benefits." The staff would have added that English monolinguals benefit equally by knowing two languages and by being exposed to sustained and equal-status interaction with the Mexican Americans of their community. Other objectives of the experimental biliteracy program in Laredo were "(1) to provide all pupils with a better understanding of the nature of language; (2) to cultivate in each pupil a pride in his mother tongue and the culture it represents . . . as well as a respect for the other language and culture; and (3) to achieve a more complete liberal education" (National Education Association 1966, p. 16).

Bilingual instruction was begun in all the district first-grade classes in 1964: (1) English and Spanish were used equally and received approximately equal treatment in the first grade. It was hoped that eventually all grade levels would equally stress the two vernaculars; however, lack of bilingual teachers resulted in some slighting of Spanish in the other grades. (2) All teachers of the first grade were bilinguals; in the other grades English monolinguals taught in English and bilinguals taught in Spanish and English. (3) All subjects were taught in both languages in the first grade. Spanish and English were used interchangeably but were never mixed. No predetermined content was taught in one language; the teacher used both languages for all content and in all classroom situations. In the higher grades certain subjects were taught in Spanish, depending on the teacher's language and subject skills. (4) Listening, speaking, reading, and writing in both languages were stressed. Children learned to read in both languages in the first grade. (5) Most of the commercially prepared materials in Spanish were from Mexico (see Cruz-Aedo 1966, pp. 33–37). The supplemental materials and some of the textbooks were prepared by the staff, who made every effort to incorporate culturally relevant materials and used projective techniques. The Mexican materials were probably more meaningful to Chicano children because of the proximity of the border. Many Laredo Chicanos are equally comfortable in either the United States or Mexico.

Although the United program was not formally evaluated at the time, the staff was convinced it was superior to older and more traditional approaches. Victor Cruz-Aedo, then the district's director of elementary education, is reported to have drawn the following conclusions (Yarborough 1967): "The Spanish-speaking pupil who formerly withdrew from the group due to his inability to understand or to be understood is now part of the class. . . . English-speaking children have also benefited, not only in learning a second language, but in grasping sounder English reading habits. Many of the English-speaking students are far advanced in their reading levels and the Spanish-speaking students have improved comprehension in their reading."

A cursory preliminary evaluation at the time indicated some promising early results. Achievement and IQ data were analyzed for each child who began the program in 1964 and was still enrolled in the winter of 1967. Only 41 such children were found, which attested to the high mobility of the population. The children were divided into three groups according to their language ability when they entered first grade: Spanish monolinguals, English monolinguals, and bilinguals. The Spanish monolinguals were almost exclusively from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (children of agricultural workers); the bilinguals were generally from middle-class homes, and all were of Mexican descent; the English monolinguals were almost all from middle-class backgrounds. After analysis of the children's achievement and IQ scores and observation in class, the following tentative conclusions were reached: (1) Only children who were bilinguals at school entrance retained any noticeable accent in English. The other groups spoke unaccented English and Spanish. (2) Total reading achievement—mean and median taken from the California Achievement Test—for the Spanish monolinguals was slightly above normal at the first grade and slightly below grade-level norm at the second grade. Both English monolinguals and bilinguals were substantially above grade-level norms for both years. English monolinguals achieved better than bilinguals. (3) Median total IQ—from the California Test of Mental Maturity—rose from the second grade to the third for all groups. Percentage increase was not great for any group. Bilinguals showed the largest percentage increase. No formal effort to evaluate social climate, intergroup attitudes, Spanish reading or speaking ability, or other outcomes was undertaken.

Whether the esprit de corps and high enthusiasm so obvious at United was the result of the program, or vice versa, is immaterial. Undoubtedly the program and the high morale were interrelated. Some unusual and interesting comments were made by Cruz-Aedo concerning the high morale. He suggested that the frankness of the administration in dealing with problems and the freedom teachers were given to innovate (make, experiment with, and evaluate new materials and approaches) contributed much to the teachers' (and thus perhaps the students') enthusiasm. Solutions were not handed down by the administration, but were jointly conceived. In 1967 Cruz-Aedo stated that the "lack of research in this area [bilingualism] is an asset. . . . I can't go into a book and see what they did in a situation like ours . . . that's a blessing in disguise." While recognizing the necessity for research, he implied that the creation of new programs can be discouraged by too much objective analysis and that the act of creating may itself provide a built-in guarantee of positive results. This idea is too often overlooked. Invention, creativity, and perhaps program success may be damaged by the immense productivity of the educational industrial complex.

The United Consolidated program described above no longer exists. The educators who were principally responsible for initiating and sustaining excitement and commitment have either retired or left to take other positions. Changes in administration and a series of program revisions have redirected the effort. Instead of the maintenance-enrichment program of the 1960s, there is now a transition model that is not significantly different from any other mandated bilingual program in Texas.

Many of the early maintenance-enrichment projects began before the government intervened. United Consolidated had to acquire special permission to teach in Spanish, which at the time violated Texas law. Designers of an exciting and similar plan in Carlsbad, California, had to make special arrangements to initiate their two-way desegregated program. Despite difficulties, early projects had certain advantages. Federal money and regulations were not problems; limited funds from the regular school budgets were easily set aside for bilingual projects. It is easy to forget that except for start-up costs, a bilingual undertaking is no more expensive than a monolingual. The lack of materials available for purchase demanded teacher involvement to create them—a happy and productive activity. Great flexibility was possible because there were no guidelines to follow or proposals to write, no special grantsmen or compliance teams to disturb the excitement of program development. Since the *Lau* decision and the advent of HEW guidelines, districts have been required to assess language proficiency of the non-English speakers. Language dominance testing has become a major activity. This process may be important in transition projects, but with maintenance-enrichment objectives it is unnecessary. In these programs all the community's children are the target. The teacher can informally determine who speaks what and how well. This is the identical process a teacher undertakes in a monolingual classroom; in a bilingual class it is accomplished in two languages. Contemporary maintenance-enrichment project staff members have reported that formal language assessment is a waste of time and that it is carried out only to receive federal support.

Federal intervention to legislate compensatory and remedial goals for bilingual projects has encouraged a movement away from maintenance-enrichment. Guidelines force proposals into at least paper conformity. Although a few of the earlier kinds of projects are encountered, it is almost impossible to determine the real objectives and activities from the project description without on-site investigation.

Despite its official description, the project in Nogales, Arizona, is clearly maintenance-enrichment. A long-established program, it continues with the dedication, involvement, and excitement that characterized other similar projects. Two-way bilingual organization is accepted; the use of Spanish and English in class is taken for granted. Staff are now involved in perfecting team teaching, open classrooms, and learning stations. In this school the few Anglo children appear to be happily bilingual. Nogales is one of the few schools that show a promise of Mexican American achievement. If the positive social climate continues, achievement, attendance, school holding power, and Spanish language ability will show steady improvement. Although observations were not made, BLBC projects in Lyford, South San Antonio, and Eagle Pass, Texas, are reported to be achieving excellent results with the maintenance-enrichment model. Santa Fe and a few other northern New Mexican communities are moving in similar directions.

With federal intervention and funding came the rapid development of transition objectives and the implementation of BLBC projects to meet the needs of the Mexican American child with limited English. Districts with many such children moved rapidly to implement bilingual activities. Although they are usually two-way and thus involve both English- and Spanish-dominant children, most have few non-Chicano children. The government and most educators feel that bilingual education is a tool to encourage Mexican American academic achievement. Today "bilingual school" is almost equivalent to "Mexican school": Bilingual teachers are the same as Mexican American teachers. Programs reflecting transition goals need not be, but usually are, located in ethnically imbalanced schools; BLBC projects in barrio schools are valued as a viable and acceptable alternative to desegregation. In much of the Southwest desegregation would result in school ethnic proportions ideal for BLBC organization. For example, if El Paso, Texas, were desegregated, every school could be about evenly divided between Anglos and Chicanos. Under such circumstances El Paso would be ideal for a two-way maintenance-enrichment (or transition) organization. Because of the bicultural, bilingual, and binational environment of El Paso–Ciudad Juárez, it could become a model project. Despite the many capable educators who encourage movement in this direction, it is doubtful that the politically conservative El Paso establishment will permit it.

Technically, United Consolidated was a perfect example of maintenance-enrichment objectives. It was a two-way design in a desegregated setting. It was exceptional because nine out of ten BLBC projects in the Southwest are examples of the opposite kind. They effect transition objectives in predominantly one-way classrooms; 90 percent of the children served are Mexican American. We have observed many such projects. The one chosen for description is real. (We call it "Alpha Unified School District" rather than use its own name.) Its organization, goals, objectives, and programs are representative of the majority of Southwestern projects.

Alpha Unified School District in California is in a semirural area near a large city. The area contains agricultural and related industry. The economic conditions are lower middle class for most residents. Approximately one-third are Mexican or Mexican American. Although other ethnic groups live in the area, the majority group is Anglo. Housing may be described as poor but comfortable. Neatly kept bungalows are everywhere; larger homes have chain link fences enclosing small front yards. Large shopping centers are close to the area, although some small neighborhood stores still operate. Abject poverty is not prevalent.

Alpha has two high schools, one continuation school, three junior high schools, and thirteen elementary schools. Approximately 250 limited- or non-English-speaking children attend three elementary schools in close proximity. One elementary school has kindergarten through second grade; one has third and fourth grades; one has fifth and sixth grades. All three look alike, are relatively new, and appear to have been built at the same time. The school facilities are adequate. The school board is conservative, resists institutional change, and is dominated by Anglos, although two Chicanos now serve. The superintendent reflects the philosophy of the school board. Community pressure and the Office for Civil Rights forced the district to initiate bilingual education and other remedial and compensatory education programs. Most of the Title I and bilingual programs are in barrio schools. The bilingual program began in the fall of 1971 at the kindergarten level only; the plan was to add a bilingual classroom every year until the children reached the sixth grade. The usual bilingual paraphernalia were added to the classrooms—Spanish language bulletin boards, the Spanish alphabet over the blackboard, Mexican and American flags displayed side by side, posters of Mexican heroes on the wall, and Spanish language learning centers at one end of the room. The typical day included Spanish singing, Spanish reading readiness, language arts, and other pleasant activities. Approximately 80 percent of the children in the kindergarten bilingual classroom were Mexican or Chicano. Their language ability ranged from Spanish-dominant to English-dominant. A few monolingual English Anglos participated. Most Anglo parents did not want their children in such classes, and it was reported that the stigma attached to being in a special program deterred Anglo parents from enrolling their children. This was not necessarily peculiar to Anglos; many Chicano parents also did not voluntarily enroll their children because bilingual programs were considered remedial and compensatory for children with special problems. Most parents wanted their children to attend schools with regular classrooms. Federally funded bilingual programs are strictly voluntary; recruitment of monolingual English-speaking Anglos was difficult. Those parents who volunteered their children felt at the end of the year that their children had learned very little Spanish.

The teacher and the aide followed the children to the first grade when they were promoted. The original plan was for the teacher and the aide to move with the children; with each added bilingual classroom a bilingual teacher and an aide would be hired at the kindergarten level. The plan failed because children and teachers got tired of each other by the end of the second year and because the practice tended to group, isolate, and track bilingual children. The plan was dropped at the end of the second year, although the aides were still required to move with the children. Initially the teachers and aides were excited about the program, but regular teachers resented it and resisted change. The teachers became polarized. It was not uncommon to observe the regular teachers leave the lounge when the bilingual teachers came in, and vice versa. The two opposing factions were those who wanted to maintain the status quo and those "Mexicans" who wanted to change and take over the school. Teachers commonly made statements like "Why should the bilingual teachers get special favors, attend conferences, and have teacher aides?" Others were critical of the program and said, "Why should they be teaching them in Spanish, they already know it; Chicanos should be learning English." Bilingual teachers countered with "Anglos don't understand our language and culture and don't like us, so why should we please them?" With time the school political climate moderated. Attitudes did not change, but the two factions did not interfere with one another.

The first-grade children who had received instruction in Spanish in kindergarten read surprisingly well in Spanish and seemed to speak English adequately. The few Anglo students made normal progress in English but did not learn Spanish. In the first-grade classrooms an attempt was made to organize a maintenance-enrichment program, using the two-way model. After the first few months, however, it was apparent that the two-way language approach was rapidly developing into a one-way transitional program. This happened for several reasons: There were no appropriate Spanish language materials. The teacher and aide were unable to teach Spanish subject content areas—for example, arithmetic. Scheduling that required subject matter in both languages was impossible, even when English and Spanish were staggered on alternating days. English as a Second Language and English as a medium of instruction dominated; the less important Spanish language was restricted to Spanish as a Second Language and Spanish language instruction. This is a transitional approach because (1) English is stressed in teaching English to Spanish speakers (ESL), (2) English is used as a medium of instruction in most subject areas, (3) Spanish is not taught to English-dominant children, (4) limited Spanish curriculum materials give English more importance, and (5) it looks like a regular classroom with only superficial modifications. The year ended with frustration and uncertain results. The children were promoted to the second grade and the teacher aides followed. During 1973–74 the children in the second-grade bilingual program continued to read well in Spanish but gave it less attention. The English-dominant children did not learn Spanish; however, the Spanish-dominant children began to read more in English, while the English-dominant children continued their normal progress. Organization, teaching, and curriculum problems continued to plague the second-grade program. The teachers had to develop materials, assist and train aides, learn Spanish subject content vocabulary, and organize and maintain the program. This double standard meant extra work. Their association with the bilingual program made the teachers agitators in the eyes of the regular staff, and the principal did not provide any special reward for the extra efforts of the bilingual teachers. English as a medium of instruction continued to dominate; available Spanish curriculum materials were imported and irrelevant to the local linguistics and culture. Most aides had little training in teaching reading. As the child's reading level advances, diagnosis, prescription, and proper instructional strategies are more complex. Unfortunately, many aides never had the opportunity to learn the techniques.

The parents of the children were active in the parent advisory council, volunteered as classroom aides, and tutored students. Others felt they knew all the answers and wanted to determine policy or dictate to the bilingual teacher how and what to teach. By the time the children reached the third grade, the Spanish-dominant children had lost their interest in the Spanish language and refused to speak, read, or write it; the English-dominant children had not learned Spanish; and the Spanish-dominant children read poorly in English and had difficulty writing and decoding English words, but could speak English understandably. When these children entered the fourth grade, the English-dominant had not learned Spanish; the Spanish-dominant still refused to speak, read, and write in Spanish. In a sense these outcomes are appropriate to transition objectives: Spanish-dominant children are weaned from Spanish to English. Unfortunately, Spanish-dominant children's academic achievement remained low in Alpha.

Alpha's BLBC program was started with great enthusiasm and dedication, but the original maintenance-enrichment objectives were difficult to uphold. A transition program developed inadvertently. This program seems to be successful in teaching oral English to Spanish-dominant children, but measured achievement is low in English basic skills.

Language assessment is a major educational activity in the Southwest and has encouraged the employment of staff, publication of numerous instruments, and hours of debate. It has discouraged many overburdened teachers who rarely see the usefulness of the information provided. Language assessment of children is important (1) to determine the level of beginning instruction in an ESL or Spanish-to-Spanish activity or to diagnose and prescribe in related individualized instruction; (2) to establish a transitional BLBC program; (3) to evaluate pretest and posttest progress; (4) to apply for Title VII funding; and

(5) to comply with *Lau* guidelines. All these circumstances may, and usually do, overlap. The most important use of language assessment data is to meet federal or state requirements. The governmental need emanates from the legislative and judicial demands that non- and limited-English speakers be aided in their adjustment to the English-speaking school. This is a valid reason but, unfortunately, may be gaining in importance over educational reasons.

Theoretically, information about language ability – whether and to what degree a child is Spanish- or English-dominant or bilingual – is useful. It is helpful to determine the language in which pupils function best so that they may be taught in that language (or in a combination for bilinguals). The child will learn better and academic achievement will improve. It is particularly important to know the child's most comfortable language if the objective is to hasten the transition to English.

Before the present requirements, the usual procedure was to count the number of Spanish-surname or Mexican American children and assume (erroneously) that they spoke Spanish and were therefore limited- or non-English-speaking. The federal demand for more accurate information has at least discouraged such shallow and biased practices. During the sixties a few bilingual teachers made an honest effort to determine the languages spoken; since then the art of language dominance assessment has improved. Some of the newer instruments are used at the secondary levels; most serve from kindergarten through the fourth grade.

The most commonly used language dominance evaluation instrument at the elementary level is the Bilingual Syntax Measure, published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (see Appendix F). This test is designed to measure oral language proficiency in Spanish and in English; it is used as an indicator of language dominance and achievement and also as an oral language diagnostic instrument. Critics of the Bilingual Syntax Measure think its major weakness is that it concerns itself only with syntax and not conceptual development. Children are classified by this instrument into five groups:

1. Monolingual speakers of the language other than English (speaks the language other than English exclusively);

2. Predominantly speaks the language other than English (speaks mostly the language other than English, but speaks some English);

3. Bilingual (speaks both the language other than English and English with equal ease);

4. Predominantly speaks English (speaks mostly English, but some of the language other than English);

5. Monolingual speaker of English (speaks English exclusively).

As with all psychometric instruments, caution is required in the use of language assessment tests. Cervantes recommends that the following criteria be employed in choosing measurement instruments (1977, p. 2):

1. Psychometric (reliability and validity) properties of the instrument;

2. Grade(s) of the instrument [is the test level appropriate to the grade level]; /

3. Norm group representation (evidence that appropriate language-minority pupils were included);

4. Linguistic appropriateness of test (not contingent upon pupil reading or writing skills); and

5. Test cost (individual versus group, time, purchase price, ease of scoring, and data processing).

The major use of language assessment instruments is to procure information to be submitted to the federal or state government. It is important, however, that it be accurate. It is also crucial that teachers understand it and apply the information in educationally appropriate ways. The data are one small piece of the total picture required to develop appropriate BLBC projects.

Bilingual-bicultural organization, an important educational concept, is difficult to define and even more difficult to implement. Pressures from many sources have dictated a movement from maintenance-enrichment to compensatory-transitional objectives. Only on-site study of a given project can determine its goals, activities, and successes. BLBC organization can be an exciting, creative activity for all concerned or it can be an exercise in frustration. The experimental atmosphere and positive school social climate engendered by BLBC should be encouraged.

Government Intervention

The federal government formally entered the field of bilingual education in 1968. In so doing it structured its understanding of the concept into the well-accepted compensatory and remedial model.

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 clearly states that programs are to teach English to children with limited- or non-English-speaking ability and that methods employing English as a Second Language as well as other techniques are appropriate. Almost all subsequent government intervention at both federal and state levels has had similar objectives and approaches. President Lyndon B. Johnson commented on the act: "This bill authorizes a new effort to prevent dropouts; . . . it also contains a special provision establishing bilingual education programs for children whose first language is not English. Thousands of children of Latin [*sic*] descent and young Indians and others will get a better start – a better chance in school. We have begun a campaign to unlock the full potential of every boy and girl – regardless of his race, or his region or his father's income" (quoted in Anderson and Boyer 1970, p. 1).

Continuing government intervention in bilingual education encourages bridge or transitional programs, not maintenance or enrichment. Program success or failure is based on the compensatory and remedial objective of overcoming deficiencies and thus improving academic achievement. Bilingual education is to help the linguistically different move into mainstream English-speaking America. The Bilingual Education Act stressed (1) planning for and taking steps leading to the development of programs designed to meet the special educational needs of children of limited English-speaking abilities in schools having a concentration of such children; (2) developing programs including research projects and pilot projects designed to test the effectiveness of plans so developed; development and dissemination of special instructional materials; providing preservice training for teachers, aides, and other auxiliary personnel.

The bilingual program objectives were to impart to students a knowledge of the history and culture associated with their languages, establish closer cooperation between the school and home, develop programs to increase educational opportunities for preschool children and adults, and prevent dropouts or potential dropouts by providing bilingual education.

To implement these legislative demands the Office of Education established an Office of Bilingual Education. A director was appointed and a staff was hired to write guidelines; to disseminate information; to provide technical assistance to local education agencies (LEAS); and to review, evaluate, and fund proposals as well as monitor programs. Both the act itself and the methods of its implementation were criticized as precipitate and poorly conceived. This placed Mexican Americans and others who favored bilingual education in a difficult situation. They were for the federal action in principle but against it in application. A major concern was the lack of basic research and planning. José Cardenas explained it in an analogy with other federal efforts. During the sputnik era a total of $10 million was allocated for the development of modern mathematics textbooks and for teacher training. Although bilingual education was concerned with the development of relevant materials in many more areas, such as social studies, mathematics, fine arts, and language arts, little money had been allocated to develop a total approach.

Six major programs were established to provide the support services and theoretical foundations for the impending federal bilingual program: (1) Spanish Curriculum Development Center (SCDC), (2) Curriculum Adaptation Network for Bilingual-Bicultural Education (CANBBE), (3) Materials Acquisition Project (MAP), (4) Carrascolendas/Bilingual Children's Television, (5) Multilingual Multicultural Assessment Project (MMAP), and (6) National Dissemination Center for Bilingual-Bicultural Education.

The Spanish Curriculum Development Center was established in Miami Beach to develop materials in the different curriculums. Sites were selected in areas serving Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Mexican Americans to field-test the new materials. Center staff recognized that these groups were culturally and linguistically different. Teachers and other educators were brought together, and inservice workshops were conducted on how to use, evaluate, and modify the materials. The direct involvement of teachers in testing these materials was advantageous, although critics suggested most teachers disregarded the teachers' guides and used only certain sections. High reproduction costs precluded wide distribution.

The Curriculum Adaptation Network for Bilingual-Bicultural Education was founded to assist SCDC in making the curriculum relevant. Although four regional offices were established, not one served the Southeast, which has the major concentration of Cubans. Supplementary materials, including crossword puzzles, were developed. Strong criticism that the materials presented Chicanos and Latins in either traditional or modern stereotypes was a principal concern of CANBBE's national and regional advisory boards. All who were involved disagreed on the meaning of *relevance* as well as *culture*. After much controversy and debate, they agreed to focus on six cultural categories (CANBBE, pp. 6–15): (1) formal culture – art, dance, and music of the ancestral group as well as holidays and national celebrations; (2) deep culture – family ties and relationships, friendships, pride and self-respect, personal events like weddings and funerals; (3) situational culture – intergroup relations, racism, physical similarities and differences, diet, politics and self-determination; (4) language and communications – recognition and utilization of the child's preferred manner of speaking, origins of his or her language and elements of that language, games and other forms of entertainment; (5) humanistic values – human kindness, justice, competition, cooperation, unselfishness, leadership; (6) other historical and heritage areas – personalities, contributions in evidence today, geography and its effects on ancestral groups, and origins and development of any of the experimental aspects of culture. Although such cultural categories may have been arbitrary, they were useful. Later materials produced by CANBBE were less stereotyped and used actual photographs or abstract representations of people and situations that encouraged the projection of children's experiences. Another trend was to employ culturally neutral landscapes, animals, and caricatures of such cultural universals as clowns.

The Materials Acquisition Project was also national in scope. Its purpose was to support elementary and secondary bilingual classes by providing information on materials currently published in Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking countries. Specifically, MAP was to "(1) Identify and acquire sample copies of educational materials which may be useful for instruction in this country. These materials include audio tapes, books, recordings, and slides. Project staff members travel to the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America and Europe to choose materials from the collections of the educational ministries and major publishers there. (2) Evaluate acquired materials. Those considered to have potential value for instructional use in the United States are featured in articles or listed in bibliographies organized by subject areas. Multiple copies of individual materials which indicate the greatest potential for use are purchased. Limited numbers of these are field tested by appropriate ESEA Title VII projects. (3) Develop sample lessons based upon experience in field testing. These sample lessons, together with the bibliographies, are published and disseminated to Title VII bilingual education projects, school districts, and interested institutions and individuals not only in the United States but abroad" (Bilingual Unit 1972, p. ii).

MAP, in cooperation with Title VII LEA project districts, often sponsored groups of teachers and aides to attend workshops in San Diego to familiarize them with the foreign materials. Monolingual English-speaking teachers sometimes selected materials they themselves could not understand. Another concern was that once teachers returned with the imported materials, they had to revise them to meet their own needs. Often they shelved the material and composed their own. The imports, however, probably benefited children who were recent arrivals from Puerto Rico, Cuba, or Mexico. The major problem was adapting the materials to make them linguistically and culturally relevant to Chicanos. As one New Mexican educator commented while visiting MAP, "Can you imagine the Spanish-speaking children in New Mexico reading imported Puerto Rican materials?" Probably the greatest weakness of MAP was that materials were imported. Even after workshops, very little adaptation took place, and the materials were ultimately shelved in favor of teacher-produced materials. Some of MAP's strengths were that teachers and aides developed awareness through workshops as to how to develop and adapt materials.

The media also played important roles in promoting bilingual education. Bilingual Children's Television, Inc. (BC/TV), a brainchild of René Cardenas, was originally funded by the Office of Education through the National Center for Educational Technology and the Office of Bilingual Education. Of all the so-called bilingual education projects with national scope, BC/TV made the greatest effort to maintain language and culture for both the Spanish- and English-speaking groups. They believed that Spanish and Anglo children should learn about, appreciate, and understand other cultures and each other. The original intent of the program was to present Spanish culture and customs with a live cast: myths, fantasies, stories, dance, music, songs, children's games. BC/TV stressed biculturalism. Their stated objectives: "(1) Develop and implement a teacher-training program . . . to assist preschool and primary grade teachers through full utilization of the BC/TV Program. (2) Establish model community centers in six key areas of the nation. The centers were to be multifunctional in purpose, serving as relay information depots . . . [to solicit] input and later testing; as training centers for bilingual personnel who would maintain steady contact with both the Anglo- and Spanish-oriented communities. The centers were to coordinate plans with school districts. (3) Create non-broadcast curriculum materials for both the home and classrooms. All of the non-broadcast curriculum materials were to be designed to complement and reinforce concepts presented in the Bilingual Children's Television program itself" (Banks, Byoir and Associates 1972).

In 1973 questions were raised in Washington regarding the use of Title VII funds. The controversy was resolved with a ruling that such monies were to be used exclusively for local school districts and not for projects national in scope. BC/TV entered a difficult period. The director solicited funds from other sources to ensure the program's survival. Under Edward DeAvila as curriculum director, the thrust of the programming changed. Six major cognitive concepts were developed and stressed: learning, language and culture, natural environment, man-made objects, food and nutrition, and energy. The future of BC/TV's *Villa Alegre* is still in doubt, but it is hoped the program will survive and ultimately make a national impact on both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking children. The pilot shows we have previewed are excellent.

Carrascolendas is another bilingual children's TV program that shows promise. Unlike the cognitive emphasis of *Villa Alegre*, *Carrascolendas* concentrates on affective learning: loneliness, being different, jealousy, embarrassment, honesty, shyness. Even though it is written primarily for the Spanish-speaking child, it is designed to expand the horizons of the non-Spanish-speaking child. *Carrascolendas* has a bilingual, multicultural format and encourages cultural pluralism.

In July 1971 the fifth federal program to aid the bilingual movement was established. Under the direction of José R. Ulibarri, the National Multilingual Multicultural Assessment Project opened offices in Stockton, California. Its primary objectives were to focus on three major problem areas related to the development of assessment procedures appropriate for non-English-speaking children. According to Ulibarri, these were "(1) the problem of assessing the skills, competencies, and characteristics of children whose primary language is other than English; (2) the problems associated with procedures used to determine appropriate pupil placement for these children; and (3) the problem of providing inservice training programs for teachers who are unfamiliar with children whose social-cultural patterns are different from their own." The project established experimental model sites in California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. These sites were designed to gather community data and conduct demographic surveys in the area; field-test a series of experimental assessment instruments; conduct preservice and inservice training sessions on various assessment procedures and administer project-developed instruments; and conduct a series of workshops that dealt with the usability of results obtained by experimental testing. Other than the model sites, a component in Riverside, California, was established. This unit was under the direction of Alfredo Castañeda and Manuel Ramirez. They conducted research on cognitive teaching and learning styles and incentive and motivational styles, as reported in other sections of this book. They developed a series of manuals and videotapes that were used by the model sites and other school districts.

The Multilingual Multicultural Assessment Project also developed a model for training parents, teachers, paraprofessionals, and other community members, who then established advisory boards to school districts. The results of a two-year training period proved highly favorable; in some communities these boards still function.

The sixth federally funded agency to encourage or serve the field was the National Dissemination Center for Bilingual-Bicultural Education. During the 1960s the organization offered professional consulting and clearinghouse services. The clearinghouse functions included receiving materials from public schools, editing and assessing the material, reprinting it, and then disseminating it to other schools for the cost of duplicating. The materials were primarily in Spanish, although some were in both English and Spanish. In addition to providing information about available materials produced by the center or local public schools, the organization made public schools aware of commercially published bilingual materials. The center also published an annotated bibliography of available materials. The primary responsibility of the professional staff was curriculum materials; however, they also served as consultants for teacher inservice programs. This usually entailed presentations and exhibitions of center materials at conferences.

Because of the previously mentioned controversy involving BC/TV, it was decided that Title VII monies could not be used for projects national in scope. Funds were to be used only to serve local school districts. This adversely affected the six agencies we have discussed. MAP and CANBBE merged and remain in existence with limited scope. *Carrascolendas* changed funding sources to the Emergency School Assistance Act (ESAA).

During the seventies a dramatic increase in federal and state appropriations has supported bilingual programs. Local education agencies, supportive services, and institutions of higher education have benefited. According to the Office of Bilingual Education there were 425 public school projects funded in 1977–78. They served 259,329 students with limited- or non-English-speaking ability; 15 languages other than English were used as media of instruction. Most of the projects, however, served the Spanish-speaking. The total federal cost for basic LEA support for the 15 different language-based bilingual programs was approximately $60 million; $10 million was spent for staff training. Another radical departure from the sixties was the amount of money provided for support services for local education agencies. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 appropriated $15 million. Title VII spent $97.5 million in fiscal year 1977–78. As stated previously, only six support efforts were made during the late sixties. During 1977–78 three dissemination and assessment centers, costing the federal government about $1.5 million, were established. In addition 14 materials development centers cost about $5.5 million per year. Further, 15 training resource centers costing $5 million per year were also established. The total federal expenditure for these 32 centers was $12 million. Another federal grant provides funds to state departments of education (SEAS) so they can give technical assistance to LEAS. The SEA grants range from $850 in Indiana to $314,134 in California. The total dollar amount to SEAS from Title VII is about $2 million per year. Higher education has also been recognized by the federal government as an important vehicle for the development of bilingual teachers. The Office of Bilingual Education has awarded 100 institutions of higher education (IHES) in 30 states training program awards totaling $9.2 million. In addition 38 universities have enrolled students who have received Title VII fellowship stipends to work on master's or doctoral degrees related to bilingual education. The total federal cost for fellowship stipends is $4 million. No one really knows the total amount spent by other federal programs that support bilingual programs; however, according to a recent *Newsweek* article, the cost is likely to surpass $200 million in federal and state money (February 7, 1977, p. 64).

Some states have appropriated large sums of money to implement their legislative intent, while others have not appropriated any. The amounts vary from state to state, depending on the nature of the need as well as on political and legal factors. For example, in California two state bilingual bills passed with a combined appropriation of about $11 million. Other Southwestern states also appropriated state monies for implementation of bilingual legislation. It should be noted, however, that Colorado at first prohibited the use of state funds for bilingual programs. Recently Colorado passed legislation that appropriated $5.6 million. The actual amount appropriated by the states is not known.

Two other areas of state action are important. State regulations or laws that prohibited the use of Spanish or any languages other than English in schools were eliminated. All five Southwestern states now have permissive or mandatory legislation. The other action that is extremely important to the future of the bilingual-bicultural movement is the state's prerogative to certify teachers and other school personnel. Three of the Southwestern states have led the movement to certify bilingual staff; only time will tell whether their actions encourage and improve bilingual programs.

In the fall of 1973 the California State Legislature authorized the Commission for Teacher Preparation and Licensing (CTPL) to develop guidelines for what is now commonly called the bilingual–cross-cultural specialist credential. The CTPL guidelines were the basis for the development of specialist programs by teacher-preparation institutions. The program plans were prepared and submitted by the university for commission evaluation and approval. Although the original intent was to develop competence-based programs, teacher-preparation institutions fell short and gave only lip service to the concept. The bilingual certification requirements were centered around content related to culture, language, methodology, and program organization. The institution had to demonstrate proper curriculum, qualified bilingual faculty, proper management and organization design, and community involvement. Furthermore, higher education was required to make a commitment for the development and improvement of bilingual education; field-based instruction was required. Although programs vary from campus to campus, most are equivalent to a master of arts degree and sometimes involve more than the usual year of study. Seventeen campuses have been authorized to grant the specialist credential.

A serious problem was presented by California's enactment of legislation to certify teachers already working in bilingual programs. The act listed three routes to certification. A teacher now instructing in a bilingual program could (1) acquire a specialist credential from an approved university; (2) complete an undergraduate bilingual emphasis program and acquire the preliminary credential; or (3) pass a special examination that includes language, culture, and methodology. The CTPL is contemplating allowing school districts, county offices of education, and universities to verify the teachers' competence and to recommend them for approval. The competence-based credential would be equivalent to the specialist credential and would be valid for life. This method of certification causes a direct confrontation among universities, local school districts, and county offices of education. The main problem is that quality controls are nonexistent. The state apparently will not require any of these educational entities to submit and gain approval for their methods of testing and verification. Many who think bilingual programs should be high-quality education are disturbed and believe that certification by agencies with established standards will be bypassed. There is a fear that many teachers in bilingual programs are not bilingual and biliterate themselves. According to a state department official, 80 percent of all the teachers currently working in bilingual classrooms are monolingual in English. Many proponents of bilingual education fear local school districts and county offices will recommend non-Spanish-speaking or limited-Spanish-speaking teachers for bilingual certification in order to maintain their current teaching staffs. The lack of quality controls is thought to encourage the demise of high-quality bilingual education in California.

California's tendency to weaken its requirements is surpassed by Texas. This stems from the action of the Texas Sixty-third State Legislature, which enacted legislation requiring that the Texas Education Agency provide for "bilingual education teacher-training institutes." The state contracts with school districts, colleges or universities, education service centers, and individuals to conduct these institutes. Satisfactory performance in the institutes, which may be conducted on as few as five consecutive days, leads to bilingual endorsement. Six hours of instruction are required per day, with a minimum total of 30 hours. Participants may be assigned individual projects to involve at least 15 more hours, to bring the total institute time up to 45 hours. The institutes center around bilingual materials, parental and community involvement, language dominance assessment, instruction in the child's first language, second-language methods and techniques, culture, teacher-pupil interaction, and classroom management. The improbability of accomplishment in such a short time is obvious. This method of bilingual endorsement simply maintains the status quo and puts the least possible pressure on the schools to make substantive changes toward bilingual education.

New Mexico appears to be headed to the opposite extreme. In 1976 the New Mexico State Board of Education approved requirements for Spanish-English bilingual-bicultural endorsement. The regulation requires individuals to be proficient at the eighth-grade level in Spanish language basic skills, or to perform at the "good" level on the Modern Language Association examination. Further, the state board requested that teacher-preparation institutions provide the proficiency test as part of their teacher-training program. In addition, the candidate for endorsement must have taken 24 semester hours of specific courses taught in Spanish. These include the general areas of sociology of ethnic experience, New Mexican and Southwestern history, Indo-Hispanic civilizations, Spanish Peninsular literature, Spanish American literature, fine arts, bilingual pedagogy, language pedagogy, cultural anthropology, cross-cultural psychology, cultural performing arts (theater arts, dance, and music), and a minimum of 6 semester hours of student teaching in a bilingual setting. Such stringent requirements were not well received.

Most teachers currently teaching in bilingual classrooms are already bilingual, unlike those in California; most have met traditional certification requirements. Many have spent the last few years developing curriculum, in addition to their regular teaching responsibilities. They believe a double standard has been imposed. Regular classroom teachers are not forced to return to the university or to take additional course work. Most bilingual teachers think that the regular classroom teacher has been primarily responsible for the Spanish American student's failure in the public school and that the university is not capable of providing bilingual methodology and cultural understanding. Another issue is language training. It is not the level of language proficiency demanded, but rather the nature of the language expected. Most universities expect foreign and not New Mexican Spanish. The tuition costs in New Mexico are high, particularly at the University of New Mexico. Most teachers cannot afford it and would prefer that their school districts pay tuition. This appears improbable if not impossible. Unfortunately, the bilingual endorsement requirement was imposed without a "grandfather clause." *All* teachers must get the endorsement in order to continue teaching. Proponents of the bilingual movement believe that bilingual programs will be damaged by the imposition of unreasonably high standards. Some see it as a way of removing many Spanish American teachers from the classroom.

A significant aspect of governmental intervention is the result of the 1974 Supreme Court decision in *Lau* v. *Nichols*, a class action suit brought against the San Francisco School District by Lau because she and other Chinese students were receiving instruction in a language they could not understand. This in effect denied them equal educational opportunity. After litigation in lower federal courts, the defendants appealed to the United States Supreme Court. Their decision read (as cited in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1975, p. 207): ". . . the failure of the San Francisco school system to provide English language instruction to approximately 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak English, or to provide them with other adequate instructional procedures, denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program and thus violates 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based 'on the grounds of race, color, or national origin,' in 'any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance,' and the implementing regulations of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare." The Court reversed the decision of the lower court and ordered San Francisco schools to remedy the condition. This decision was erroneously interpreted as a requirement for bilingual education. Guidelines were developed by HEW, and the department's Office for Civil Rights was charged with the responsibility of ensuring LEA compliance with the *Lau* decision. Districts found not complying with HEW regulations developed acceptable plans to reach compliance. HEW funded nine regional "Lau centers" to provide districts with technical assistance in developing "Lau remedies." To be acceptable these plans must provide for (1) the identification of students' primary, or home, language; (2) a diagnostic-prescriptive approach; (3) an educational program selection; (4) required as well as elective courses; (5) a description of qualifications of teachers; (6) a description of ethnic and racial isolation in the district; (7) formal notification to parents of the children concerned; and (8) formal evaluation of the program. In short, the *Lau* decision was operationally developed by HEW to require school districts to identify students affected, develop a program for them, and ultimately evaluate that program. The specific program – ESL, Spanish-to-Spanish, bilingual – was not specified. Controversy that raged over the implementation of the decision focused on the demand that all limited-English students be provided some form of special instruction. Normally the government requires assistance to a group only if it is above a minimum percentage within a district. Additionally, in accordance with the San Francisco decision, districts were required to provide special instruction as part of their regular program: No additional funds were to be provided for the implementation of *Lau*.

State and federal intervention in the area of bilingual education continues and may be increasing. All three branches of government are involved. There is action, inaction, and reaction by the educational establishment. Bilingual education is another example of the apparent inability of the profession to modify itself. Outside pressure is almost always necessary. A demand for change is important; the development of educational plans to meet the demand is crucial. Government attempts to implement change are expensive and often self-defeating; school attempts to implement change are rarely of much consequence. The next section further examines this quandary.

Does it work?

Whether or not bilingual education works depends on what the term means and what its objectives are. If it means an ESL program, the objective is English language proficiency. If it implies a comprehensive set of activities based on maintenance and enrichment, the objectives are entirely different. To evaluate programs, three sources are useful: reports of individual projects, reports of comprehensive studies of the total effort, and field observations. The major difficulty is matching collected data with program objectives.

The most prevalent bilingual program in the Southwest was categorized earlier as compensatory-transitional. It is the type mandated by law in Texas and California as well as by Title VII of ESEA. A major effort to evaluate Spanish-English programs funded under this act was undertaken in 1974. Of a total of over 400 projects in the nation, 38 were evaluated; 19 of these were in the Southwest and served Mexican Americans (American Institutes for Research 1977, pp. vii–x). The importance of this study and its impact on decision makers at all levels cannot be overemphasized. It is imperative that the report be viewed in the proper context and that its limitations be understood. For these reasons the Executive Summary is reprinted in its entirety (U.S. Office of Education 1977, pp. 1–6).

Background. The Bilingual Education Program was established in 1968 to demonstrate ways of meeting the special educational needs of students of limited English-speaking ability. A major goal of the program is to show how children can progress in school using their native language while acquiring competence in the English language. Authorized by Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, as amended, the program provides funds to local educational agencies for the development and implementation of bilingual education projects.

Educators and noneducators alike have shown a growing awareness of the lack of—and need for—evidence regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education programs. In 1974 the U.S. Office of Education/Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation contracted with the American Institutes for Research of Palo Alto, California, to conduct a study of the effectiveness of federally funded bilingual education projects. Up to that time, no large-scale national evaluation of the effectiveness of the Title VII program had been conducted.

Bilingual education projects selected for evaluation were all Title VII Spanish/English bilingual projects in either their fourth or fifth year of funding as of fall 1975. Projects such as these were thought to be reasonably mature projects—ones having refined their approach to bilingual education over time. (The variety of languages used in the other projects and the problems of developing testing instruments for these languages led to the decisions to limit the present study to Spanish/English bilingual projects, which comprise the majority of all bilingual projects.)

The objectives of the study were:

(a) to determine the impact of bilingual education on students in cognitive and affective domains in Spanish/English bilingual education projects funded through ESEA Title VII;

(b) to describe the educational processes in these projects;

(c) to identify those educational practices which result in greater gains in student achievement;

(d) to determine per student costs associated with each project.

Methodology. The general design of the Impact Study was one of contrasting the performance of two groups of students: those enrolled in Title VII Spanish/English bilingual projects and comparable students not enrolled in such projects. Students from grades 2 through 6 were pretested in fall 1975 and posttested in spring 1976. The characteristics of projects in operation were documented thoroughly for a subsample of all classrooms of students involved in the study. The Title VII group of students consisted of approximately 5300 students, in 286 classrooms, in 117 schools, in 38 projects. The non-Title VII group of students (comparable students) consisted of approximately 2400 students, in 115 classrooms, in 50 schools.

Data collection. Standardized achievement tests were used to measure student achievement in English Language Arts (Reading and Vocabulary), Mathematics Computation (two versions of test, one in English and one in Spanish), and Spanish Language Arts (Reading). In addition, information was collected via a Student Questionnaire (two versions of questionnaire, one in English and one in Spanish) about student background factors and student attitude toward school-related activities. To assess teacher characteristics and attitudes toward bilingual education, a teacher/aide questionnaire was developed. To document the educational experiences of subsets of students in the sample, interviews were conducted with personnel at those sites selected and classrooms were observed.

Each student was assigned a testing package containing tests appropriate to their level of language competence as judged by the classroom teacher: English-dominant, Spanish-dominant, bilingual Spanish-dominant, bilingual English-dominant. All students were administered the English Language Arts tests. The testing sessions were conducted in the late fall and late spring of the 1975–76 school year.

The sample. Students participating in each of the 38 Spanish/English bilingual projects in their fourth or fifth year of funding (as of fall 1975) were tested. Within each project, at least one classroom was randomly selected for testing from each grade level 2 through 6. To the extent that participating projects would agree to additional testing, additional classrooms of students were randomly selected for testing. Not every grade at every school was tested; however, for a given project, all grades were represented. The result was that approximately 40 to 50 percent of all classrooms within each project were tested.

For each Title VII classroom selected for testing, project personnel were asked to nominate non-Title VII classrooms (comparable students) within or nearby their district whose students matched the Title VII students in terms of (a) ethnicity, (b) socioeconomic status, and (c) grade level. Where there was more than one potential "match," a random selection was made to select the non-Title VII classroom to be included in the Impact Study. However, 18 projects were not able to nominate comparable non-Title VII classrooms. The non-Title VII students were roughly comparable to the Title VII students, with the one exception that more non-Title VII students than Title VII students were classified by their teachers as either English-dominant or bilingual English-dominant – 96 percent as compared to 75 percent.[1]

Data analysis procedures. Two data analysis procedures were used to assess the overall effectiveness of the Title VII Spanish/English bilingual projects. One, posttest scores of Title VII students – adjusted statistically for differences between groups on pretest score and socioeconomic status – were contrasted with those of non-Title VII students for each grade 2 through 6. Two, the achievement levels of Title VII and non-Title VII students were contrasted with national norms whenever such norms were available for the achievement test used.

Findings. *What kinds of students were participating in the Title VII projects?*

- Approximately 75 percent of the students enrolled in the Title VII Spanish/English bilingual classrooms were of Hispanic origin.
- However, less than one-third of the students enrolled in the

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[1] The final report will contain the results of various analyses which will attempt to statistically eliminate this difference between Title VII and non-Title VII students.

Title VII classrooms in grades 2 through 6 were of limited English-speaking ability.

How experienced were the Title VII teachers and aides in bilingual education?

- Almost all the teachers and most of the aides had been involved with inservice or district workshops in bilingual education and had taken course work in bilingual education.
- Two-thirds of the teachers and two-thirds of the aides had two or more years of teaching experience in bilingual education classrooms.
- Approximately two-thirds of the teachers and almost all of the aides indicated that they spoke both English and Spanish in their homes.

What were some general characteristics of the Title VII projects?

- The number of students served by a Title VII project ranged from 200 to 5000, with approximately half of the projects serving between 200 and 500 students each.
- Project management was generally stable over the 4 or 5 years of operation. Ten percent of the projects had more than two project directors; about half had two directors; and one-third had the same director since the project's inception.
- Although the intent of the ESEA Title VII legislation is to focus upon students of limited English-speaking ability, approximately 85 percent of the project directors indicated that Spanish-dominant students remain in the bilingual project once they are able to function in school in English. Only 5 percent of the project directors indicated that a student is transferred to an English-only classroom once the student learns English well enough to function in school.
- For students enrolled in the Title VII projects, per pupil expenditures from Title VII funds ranged from $150 to $739 with an average of $310; district expenditures ranged from $680 to $1243 with an average of $915; funds for bilingual education from State and/or Federal sources ranged from $18 to $71 with an average of $44; and, funds from other sources (Federal and State, but not bilingual) ranged from $0 to $271 with an average of $174. Considering all sources of funds, the per pupil cost for Title VII students ranged from $1127 to $2120 with an average of $1398. (The grand total per pupil cost for the non-Title VII students ranged from $992 to $1534.)

What was the impact of Title VII projects on student achievement and attitude toward school?

- Although the exact percentiles vary among grades, both Title VII and non-Title VII students were achieving in English Language Arts at approximately the 20th percentile relative to the national norm both when tested in the fall and in the spring.[2]
- Non-Title VII Hispanic students outperformed Title VII students on English Language Arts. The two groups were similar on socioeconomic status and pretest score; in addition, statistical corrections were made for differences which did exist. However, there were large differences in language dominance, the non-Title VII group being more English-dominant, and adjustments have not yet been made for these differences. Therefore, the differences in performance between the two groups may be accounted for either by participation in the program or by language dominance or by both factors. Both groups generally either maintained or improved their percentile ranks, but it is possible that further, more refined, analysis will lessen these positive effects.
- Title VII Hispanic students generally performed better than non-Title VII Hispanic students with regard to Mathematics Computation. However, both groups generally either maintained or improved their percentile rank (approximately 30) from pretest to posttest.
- For Title VII Hispanic students, posttest achievement in Spanish Reading exceeded that measured at pretest; however, because there was no way to estimate how well such students would have scored in the absence of a bilingual education program, the extent to which such gains should be attributed to the program is not clear.
- Participation in a Title VII project did not affect attitudes toward school-related activities.

Summary. The evaluation of the ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual projects indicates that a relatively small number (less than one-third) of students participating in the projects could be classified as having limited English-speaking ability. With respect to student achievement, the evaluation indicates that:

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[2] The Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills was used to measure student achievement in English Language Arts and Mathematics computation. Although the norm table for results obtained at the end of the school year is empirically based, the norm table for the beginning of the school year is based on estimated student achievement. A more accurate estimation (in progress) of the norms for the beginning of the school year may slightly alter these results. The results of these analyses will appear in the final report.

(a) Title VII Hispanic students – including those who were Spanish monolingual – performed better in Mathematics computation than would have been expected in the absence of a program.

(b) The results on English reading and vocabulary tests are mixed but generally less favorable for Title VII students. Hispanic students in Title VII classrooms usually did more poorly than non-Title VII students. However, the non-Title VII students as a group were more English-dominant than the Title VII students – and this difference may account for some of the results. Both groups generally either maintained or improved their percentile ranks from pretest to posttest.

(c) Achievement gains in Spanish Language Arts by Title VII Hispanic students were observed but could not be attributed solely to participation in the bilingual education program.

One difficult problem with any evaluation of program impact is estimating what student performance would have been in the absence of that program. Further refinements of such estimates will be presented in the final report and may slightly alter the findings presented at this time, but no major differences are expected.

The conclusions of the evaluation were foreseeable. Title VII mandates compensatory-transitional programs; the study investigated whether the goals were being reached. It found achievement was not improved for project youngsters. Nor did treatment ". . . affect attitudes toward school-related activities." This result is supported by every known appraisal of compensatory education.

Three limitations of this study must be kept in mind: (1) It measured outcomes appropriate to compensatory education programs but not those appropriate to maintenance-enrichment programs. (2) It used the most acceptable, but least sophisticated, evaluative techniques. (3) The research design and research techniques applied in the field are questionable. But there is no reason to doubt that achievement was not improved for project children.

This conclusion was also reached in a less comprehensive study by the Comptroller General of the United States. This study found that bilingual education has not improved academic performance and that the rate of failure is the same in the 1970s as in the 1960s. Arithmetic and language tests in English were used to reach the conclusions; this, unfortunately, is appropriate to Title VII objectives and guidelines. The Comptroller General's report stated (1976, p. 34): ". . . overall, about half of the English-dominant students (363 of 662) made at least normal progress in both reading and math. Only one-third of the non-English-dominant students (151 of 426) progressed normally in reading and less than half (157 of 341) made normal progress in math. The gains of the English-dominant students generally exceeded those of the non-English-dominant students in both reading and math . . . both groups generally fell further behind expected grade levels in the higher grades." Although more limited in scope, the findings are similar to those of the American Institutes for Research (AIR). Compensatory bilingual programs do not make disadvantaged Spanish-dominant children "normal." What AIR and the Comptroller General fail to measure, however, is much more important than the achievement they purport to measure.

The 19 Southwestern bilingual programs studied by AIR are a heterogeneous assortment of goals, objectives, curriculums, activities, and demographic settings. A cursory content analysis of the project descriptions reveals intriguing differences. For example, the goals of 8 are purely or clearly inclined toward compensatory-transitional outcomes. The goals of 7 are purely or clearly inclined toward maintenance-enrichment outcomes. The goals of 2 offer a choice between compensatory-transitional and maintenance-enrichment outcomes. The goals of 2 are so vague or unusual as to make classification impossible. There is no way to determine how or if these goals were operationalized into objectives, programs, or teacher behavior. There is no way to determine if stated goals are in any sense the real goals of the staff. AIR studied this diverse group of projects and measured outcomes appropriate to about half. While measured achievement did not improve, we learned nothing about school social climate, teacher-student behavior or expectations, attendance, discipline, school holding power, Spanish ability and knowledge of Hispanic culture interethnic relations, and the multitude of other aspects associated with maintenance-enrichment goals. AIR told us what most of us already knew and nothing about what we should know.

The AIR research design and methodology are questioned by many educators. Concerns include the method of choosing the sample of 38 (is it representative of Spanish/English projects?); the use of the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills as a measure of achievement; holding young children in a test situation for 45 or more minutes (reports of 75-minute test periods are common); the use of poorly trained testers and interviewers; and the lack of quality control.

Some evidence contrary to AIR was reported by Dulay and Burt (1977). Under contract to NIE they conducted an extensive review of bilingual-bicultural project evaluations and related studies. Dulay and Burt excluded those projects and evaluations that did not meet several factors not accounted for in the AIR report. Excluding factors were: no control for subjects' socioeconomic status; no control for initial language proficiency; no baseline comparison data or control group; inadequate sample size; excessive attrition rate; significant differences in teacher qualifications for control and experimental groups; and insufficient data and statistics. Only nine research studies and three demonstration projects survived this careful selection process. An analysis of these selected projects and studies found that (1) the experimental bilingual-bicultural group performed significantly better than a comparison group; (2) pre- and posttests in academic achievement gains during treatment were significantly greater than gains before treatment; and (3) results of comparison to district or national norms were significantly better after treatment than before treatment.

Field observation and interviewing generally confirm that little evidence of improved achievement in bilingual education programs is available, although many examples of individual student success are reported by teachers. It is difficult to come to conclusions; however, in the few maintenance-enrichment programs that have engendered a sense of excitement and dedication, we believe that–

1. Standard measures of school achievement will indicate a slow but increasing improvement for *all* children over the years;
2. Knowledge of Spanish and the "other" culture and tradition will be significant for all children and will be retained over the years;
3. School holding power will improve;
4. Sustained, equal-status interaction between groups will improve ethnic relations and eliminate subordinate and superordinate relationships; and
5. Community participation will be supportive.

High-quality compensatory-transitional programs can be expected to –

1. Modify school conditions only slightly;
2. Improve achievement in those Spanish-dominant children who are highly motivated (it will have about the same effect as a quality ESL activity); and
3. Have little or no effect on English-dominant children.

Each bilingual program must be evaluated in light of its own objectives. Attempts by government to force compliance with a set of firm guidelines will be unsuccessful. Experimentation appropriate to the local institutional setting must be encouraged; uniformity is neither advisable nor possible.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter looked closely at five specific developments in Southwestern schools during the last decade. All but one are continually evolving. The two most important attempts at substantive institutional change are bilingual education and desegregation. The difficulty in defining, effecting, and evaluating bilingual education was discussed. Most programs implemented in the Southwest are some variation of compensatory and remedial education; they are not total bilingual-bicultural organization. Some projects are organized around maintenance-enrichment goals; most are transitional programs. No scientific evidence demonstrates that federally funded bilingual projects reach their objective of improved achievement, attainment, or attitude among Mexican Americans of limited English-speaking ability. Equally negative findings are reported for desegregation: As a compensatory and remedial activity, it too is failing. Integration and enrichment are not being realized.

The Edgewood school experiment is perhaps the most discouraging activity reported. Despite an outlay of 8 million dollars, nothing really changed for either the institution or its students. Crystal City is exciting and positive; parental involvement continues. Migrant education is not really institutional change, but it does show that federal and state cooperation can extend school services.

Although schools have been successful in eliminating some of the past overt discrimination, much covert bias remains. Educators are generally unable to replace negative aspects with affirmative educational action. No substitute for the philosophy of despair incorporated in the deprivationist compensatory-remedial approach has been forthcoming. It is essential to develop a cultural sufficiency philosophy and a will to encourage comprehensive institutional change. Our nation has learned one lesson in the last 10 years: Compensatory programs won't buy improved school performance, and traditional approaches will not radically change the school.

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8: The Past, the Present, and the Future

This study has attempted to shed light on one of the perplexing social problems of our time. Why is it that certain identifiable ethnic groups seem unable to prosper in American society? We have focused on one group: the Mexican American in the five Southwestern states. Low social status and poor school achievement continue to characterize the group despite its relatively long history in the Southwest. We have examined various explanations and possible solutions; we have rejected simplistic explanations and easy solutions.

FROM THEN TO NOW

The economically disadvantaged and socially subordinate status of Mexican Americans has been recognized for years. Concomitant with this recognition was the belief that their status was the natural order and that "Mexicans" were somehow doomed by their inheritance to second-class citizenship. Racists explained that the minority group's lower social position was the result of genetic inferiority. Others rationalized it as cultural inferiority, supporting their position with the widely accepted stereotype of the lazy, apathetic, and noncompetitive Mexican. Inadvertently, many social scientists contributed to this stereotype by stressing that Mexican Americans were carriers of traditional folk culture. Their findings were overgeneralized, extended, and misinterpreted by nonprofessionals as well as educators. Although the belief in minority cultural and racial inferiority was and is erroneous, the Southwestern social system did seem to function best with a pool of cheap unskilled labor and a subordinate ethnic caste. The low-skilled and poorly educated fitted admirably into the distinctive social and economic system of the region and helped to sustain it. Although it is an overgeneralization to assume that the five states had one common socioeconomic system, certain elements were the same throughout the region. Today older social systems are changing. The hacienda, or ranch form of enterprise, has almost completely been replaced by industrial agriculture. The labor movement is becoming a major force in agricultural areas. The Southwest, however, is no longer predominantly rural and agricultural; it is urban and industrial. Mexican Americans are concentrated in urban settings, which may be as socially closed as rural environments. Today the labor movement, industry, and the economy in general do not encourage upward social mobility. Many Mexican Americans seem to be trapped in the underemployed poor urban caste. City schools perpetuate low social status just as rural schools did in the past.

Most Mexican immigrants, as well as persons of Spanish ancestry who lived in the Southwest for generations, were well-integrated cogs in the social system. They had the skills, experience, and, perhaps, temperament demanded to mesh with the rural agricultural economy. The economy was, and still is in a few areas, based on the hacienda with its dual-caste system. The hacienda and the plantation of the Old South created and depended on similar social arrangements. With the disappearance of the hacienda, agricultural industry emerged. Socially this system was not unlike the hacienda, except that the paternalism of the *patrón* was not continued by modern management. Mexican Americans who had not entered the agricultural system in earlier periods meshed equally well; they had the essential skills for the equally closed dual social systems spawned by mining and railroading. In a sense the Mexican immigrant never left home: The social, economic, and even political conditions on both sides of the Rio Grande were very much alike.

Society and its schools prepared Mexican Americans to participate in the economy of the traditional Southwest. The school equipped them with the knowledge and skills appropriate to subordinate social status: minimum English language, rudimentary reading and arithmetic, and the values necessary for a law-abiding but nonparticipating and essentially disenfranchised citizen. The school's failure to Americanize or to raise the group social status of so many Chicanos was, in an unfortunate sense, evidence of its success. The local economy and society functioned best with an easily controlled, politically impotent, and subordinate ethnic group. School practices perpetuated the social and economic system by unconsciously – and consciously – encouraging Chicanos to fail academically, drop out early, and enter society at the low status traditional for their group.

Their failure to achieve well in school and society contributed to the Anglo belief that Mexican Americans were of innately inferior intelligence and that they were lazy, passive, fatalistic, and lacked initiative. The combination of the reality of low socioeconomic and educational achievement and the stereotypical explanation was self-reinforcing and self-justifying. Although social, economic, and demographic circumstances have changed, the explanation for the subordinate social and educational status persists. Social changes are taking place rapidly, but the school does not keep up by modifying its practices, policies, or the attitude of its teaching staff. Too often school conditions appropriate in the past persevere into the present with devastating effect on minority-group children as well as on society in general.

Since the beginning of World War II the Southwest has become predominantly urban and industrialized. In the rural areas agricultural industry has replaced earlier occupational and socioeconomic arrangements, and less emphasis has been placed on mining and railroading. Most Chicanos, like Anglos, now live in metropolitan areas and compete in the urban industrial job market. Their substandard schooling makes competition difficult. The stability of the older social system is disappearing. Radical and rapid demographic, economic, and social changes contribute to grievous personal, social, and economic maladaptations and malfunctions.

Poverty, poor education, and unemployability were major contributors to the social ills of the early sixties. National and regional leaders, supported by sociopolitical movements, undertook to solve these problems and make equal opportunity a reality. A rapidly growing Chicano population with poor educational attainment, doomed to the lowest social levels, was a political threat to societal stability. Such a population may have served the old rural Southwest well, but the unskilled Chicano of the fifties and sixties presented modern urban industrial society with the potential for undesirable and unsettling consequences. The civil rights and Chicano movements of the last decade combined to provide a moral, ethical, and almost religious affirmation to the struggle to improve the plight of the poor and powerless.

The school was charged with the major responsibility of changing poor children into adults who could be successful in society. Society directed the school to uplift the Mexican American group by ensuring that the young achieved academically and persevered in school. With improved academic achievement, increased years of schooling, and appropriate value orientations, higher group social status was anticipated. In retrospect the improvement of the individual by the school appears to be an impossible goal. At the time, however, the school undertook the task; if not willingly, the educators at least accepted financial assistance and instituted programs to upgrade the Chicano. It must regretfully be acknowledged that it was not educators' altruism that initiated this new effort. Rather, the controlling social forces saw that peace and balance were threatened and demanded school action. Society slowly became concerned and began to direct its institutional arms, especially the schools, to solve the problems created by social and economic change. A low-status Mexican American was no longer functional; the natural order had changed.

The community and its formal educational institutions are interrelated and interdependent. It is impossible to separate institutions from the society they serve; each contributes to the maintenance and continuity of society. The school reflects the sociocultural totality, incorporating the professed values as well as the mores, the good and the bad, the static and the kinetic, the progressive and the conservative. The dependence of the American school on local society for direction as well as economic support almost guarantees that little initiative will be forthcoming from educators. Although local control is deemed essential in America's democratic society, it discourages attempts by educators to use their institutions as agents of social change. Educational leaders are often members of the conservative establishment or are dominated by them. If these controlling elements manifest little concern about the status of subordinate groups, and if the groups remain mute and powerless, the educators do not react. If no group or problem is rocking the boat, the school comfortably assumes it is performing adequately. These conditions characterized the Southwest in the recent past; the few persons who raised their voices to advocate school reform found they had an unresponsive, or sometimes hostile, audience. Conditions in the 1960s demonstrated that outside agitation was required in the form of judicial, political, and social pressure.

Schools undertook to solve the problem with the financial assistance of government. Mirroring American folk wisdom, they adopted the cultural determinist explanation. The cultural deprivation perspective then led directly to its educational corollary: Compensatory and remedial education became the major thrust of the schools. Billions of dollars to implement its varied programs have failed to reach their objectives of improved attainment and achievement. The school, slow-moving and conservative, continues to attempt the impossible. Acting alone, the school cannot change culturally induced behavior patterns any more than it can modify society in general. The assumption of the cultural determinist and compensatory education approaches that the poor are the cause of their own social problems is highly suspect but rarely questioned by educational or political leaders. Educators willingly spend millions on programs to modify the children of poverty; they seldom willingly undertake programs to modify the school itself. Little has changed; schools are essentially the same today as they were in 1950. The poor are still with us, but they don't disturb the social equilibrium as they did in the past. Funding for compensatory and remedial activities will eventually disappear as it becomes evident that such programs cannot reach their goals of improved academic performance.

Educators' concern about the low socioeconomic and educational status of Mexican Americans and steps to raise that status are related more to forces within society than to forces within the institution. Southwestern society determines educational practices; substantial school modification must await changes in the community. Legal intervention to force local school practices into alignment with national values is usually countervened, subverted, or evaded by the institutions. This is exemplified by desegregation attempts. Other school practices are not so closely aligned with community mores, but are nonetheless exceedingly difficult to modify because of institutional habit and the inability of the highly bureaucratized school to modify itself. For many reasons educators and schools resist change, whether the pressure emanates from within or from without institutional walls.

There is no one explanation of why Juanito can't read, is "poorly motivated," and flees the school early to assume the low social status traditional for his group. The search for reasons has resulted in the isolation of three complex and interrelated sets of factors: (1) the diverse Mexican American subcultures and the socialization they provide, (2) the nature and quality of formal education available to Mexican Americans, and (3) the local and regional social systems and the equal or unequal opportunity they afford minority groups. Most educators fail to recognize the last two points and stress only the first—that Mexican American low status, lack of assimilation and acculturation, and failure in school are due to the group's distinctive and deficient culture. The widespread acceptance of this theory is easily understood because it exonerates society and school from complicity. The low status and continued foreignness of minority groups issue from innumerable social and economic conditions within both the dominant and minority societies.

In rejecting this simplistic cultural determinist argument, there is a strong tendency to overreact and to deny or downplay the culturally different environment in which many Chicanos grow up and live. Although this milieu is certainly not the stereotypical folk culture accepted as reality by many persons, it is distinct from the environment of suburbia. In denying the influence of the group, there is a failure to grasp and fully comprehend the mutual interdependence of the three components listed above. The minority subcultures or subsocieties are influenced in untold ways by local society and its institutions; the minority group, in turn, influences school and society. It is equally important not to overrely on the structural environmentalist position. The social, economic, and educational environments are crucial to the status of the group. *They are the principal determinants of low educational and social position for Mexican Americans.* The interplay and interrelationship among school, home, and society must always be considered also. The complex whole is not amenable to facile separation or clear delineation; a total social situation *causes* the Mexican American tendency to achieve poorly in school and to drop out early.

One conclusion can be drawn from analysis of the kind of children who succeed in school. They are culturally and personally similar to what the school expects—"normal children from normal homes." The "different" child—whether Chicano, poor, black, deaf, delinquent—rarely measures up at school exit to the so-called standard child. It could be concluded that the cultural, social-class, physical, or personality characteristics of different children cause them to fail in school. Most educators assume that the school is adequate and validly represents the core values and content of American culture. Therefore, when they are given a choice of causes of school failure, they blame their clients rather than themselves.

To support this position, educators have developed elaborate and detailed descriptions of the life-styles and personalities of Mexican Americans and their children. Unfortunately, the common beliefs of educators about Chicano children are not based on objective evidence but are derived from older descriptions of rural folk culture. Educators have little insight into the culture, society, or language; they describe one static, monolithic Mexican American culture rather than the rich diversity. This corresponds to the common Anglo stereotype of Mexicans in general. In this formidable arsenal of false or exaggerated beliefs, school people find the reasons for Mexican American school problems. The burden is on the minority, who unfortunately may believe that the educators are correct.

Having identified the Chicano home and culture as the source of academic deficiency, school personnel treat the condition in the only way their logic allows: The school must eliminate cultural difference, or deprivation, and thereby ensure institutional and social success. This position is fortified by the widespread belief among educators that the school was a principal agent in the acculturation of other immigrant groups and that a prime function of the school is the rapid, perhaps ruthless, Americanization of children of foreign backgrounds. The school supports the general American belief that immigrants are acceptable as soon as they cease to be culturally distinct. Compensatory education programs to reorient, reconstruct, retool, or remodel Chicano children are supported by most educators and civic leaders.

Vast sums of federal, state, and local money continue to be spent on compensatory and remedial programs, although there is no evidence that the programs are successful in meeting the stated or implied objectives. The reasons for poverty and the ensuing problems for unassimilated ethnic groups are to be found primarily in the conditions of the dominant social system, not in the inadequacies of the individual. Although differences in language, value orientation, and culture may exist between the middle class and the poor, it is questionable that specific, identifiable characteristics are the causative agents of low achievement.

It is an unwarranted assumption that the school, as it presently exists, is influential or powerful enough to change deep-seated orientations. The symbolic rewards and promises of future rewards offered by the school are insufficient to overcome the present rewards offered by the real world. Very often the symbolic rewards are not appealing or are not considered rewards by culturally different persons. Nor are the promises of future social rewards for acceptable school performance believed. Children learn early the kinds of future roles and status society affords their social or ethnic group. School just doesn't make too much difference in the lives of the poor and downtrodden. The influences of day-to-day living are more significant than the contrived and unreal experiences of the school.

WHAT NEXT?

It is axiomatic that predicting the future requires understanding the present and its antecedents. Although it is impossible to predict with certainty, it is possible to suggest future educational directions. Barring catastrophic events, there is every reason to believe schools will change little in the next 10 years; they have changed little in the past.

Upgrading the Chicano

Despite the demand for equal educational opportunity and more efficient schools and programs for minority-group children, the records do not show that any of the recommended and implemented compensatory programs are producing the anticipated long-term results. Limited evidence suggests that certain remedial programs are reaching their short-term goals, but no evidence demonstrates that early remediation contributes to sustained higher achievement or improved school holding power. There is little doubt, however, that most schools will continue compensatory and remedial programs until financial assistance disappears.

In the first edition of this book, recommendations were made concerning research and evaluation. This was done to help resolve the argument over the outcomes of compensatory and remedial programs. This argument is no longer cogent; ample evidence demonstrates that the efforts have been unsuccessful. But most practitioners disagree and continue to advocate compensatory programs. Because we know that educators hope to demonstrate their convictions that such programs are successful, we recommend more research, program evaluation, and widespread publication of findings. Program evaluation must reach and influence the decision makers as well as educators at all levels. Only with wide publicity on the failure or success of the programs can information be used to encourage change. Research is valuable to future institutional development only if it is unbiased, well documented, understandable, and meaningful; most important, it must influence those who make decisions. We recommend that future research and evaluation incorporate the following guidelines:

1. Agencies that finance programs should make continued funding contingent on detailed study of a program's effectiveness. Guidelines for such programs must be reset to ensure adequate objective data collection and analysis. Compliance must be ensured.

2. To overcome the widely divergent evaluation methods now used, funding agencies should develop, or sponsor others to develop, standardized master proposal forms and data collection and evaluation procedures. The standardization of procedures should present little difficulty, because most compensatory and remedial programs are similar if not identical.

3. These standard forms should require the delegate agency (usually the school) to describe clearly short-term and long-term objectives of the program proposed, methods (techniques) assumed to reach them, staff characteristics, number and kinds of students involved, and outcomes.

4. Every program has both short- and long-term objectives. For example, English as a Second Language programs have as their principal short-term objective competence in English; their long-term or major goal is school success. Both objectives are measurable. Whether students reach or do not reach the long-term objective of success in school is much more difficult to measure, but it is nonetheless the crucial consideration.

5. Provision should be made for a continuing (longitudinal) appraisal of students' academic performance, school behavior, participation, and status after leaving school. District projects must be required to put aside money for continuing research on students. With the data assembled and reduced for computer processing, the funding agency can make its analysis of program effectiveness.

These recommendations contain elements that are important regardless of what agency conducts the evaluation. If information is to be used to influence program development and institutional change, it is essential that it be as unbiased as possible. Those who make the evaluation should not be those who have a vested interest in keeping the particular program. Although crude data may have to be collected by individuals closely involved with a project, the ultimate analysis and evaluation must be conducted by neutral outsiders. If feedback is to contribute to modification of school mechanisms, institutions must be found or established that have no vested interest in either success or failure. Neither the funding agency nor the educational institution receiving the financial aid should conduct evaluations; a neutral group should be charged with these responsibilities. The National Institute of Education, in its original charge, appeared to serve this function. Certain of its efforts have been useful; yet it, too, is politically influenced. Perhaps private organizations such as the Brookings Institution are best equipped to perform the feedback functions. Regardless of mechanism, analysis and evaluation must be removed from the hands of those who administer or employ the funds. Without these or similar measures there will doubtless be a continuation of biased evaluation and subsequent inadequate decisions based on subjective rather than objective information. Evidence must be generated to show what works, when it works, with whom it works, and ultimately how it works. Such evidence might encourage educators to cut down the present waste of money and effort and perhaps curtail practices that are ineffective or detrimental to minority-group children. It must be understood, however, that information alone cannot be expected to change present school efforts. For example, if traditional compensatory programs are indeed proved to accomplish nothing, it does not necessarily follow that schools will curtail or modify them. Such programs can become as resistant to change as do other aspects of school.

Federal intervention will undoubtedly continue, but it will be in forms not yet determined. The numerous compensatory programs that are so familiar will eventually lose their governmental support and will disappear. Very few programs have been institutionalized; they rely almost completely on outside support for their existence. Governmental support will end for three reasons. First, there is no scientific evidence that these programs reach their objective of improved academic achievement; there is no evidence that Mexican American psychosocial attributes have "improved." Second, the original educator excitement, enthusiasm, and dedication have waned over the years; teachers are tired and no longer believe in promised outcomes. Third, no national pressure group demands governmental support; the only advocates now are those who have a vested interest in its survival.

There will be exceptions. Compensatory health and nutrition, as well as related support services, will persist. Migrant education programs may even increase. In many ways these are not compensatory; they extend the school's services to a given population. These and similar extension activities are not controversial and do not disturb the status quo. Rather, they provide funds to augment currently agreed-upon services. Another compensatory activity may persist and may increase: The miniscule 3 percent of ESEA funds now supporting ESL activities should be raised. This purely compensatory program is the only one that will demonstrate its ability to reach its objectives. Under proper conditions Spanish speakers can and do learn English with its help.

Bilingual education as required by governmental guidelines is a compensatory-transitional program. It, too, will eventually disappear. Governmental financial support will diminish rapidly as it becomes increasingly clear to legislators that the goals of improved Chicano academic achievement are not met. This could be reversed if enough political pressure is exerted by advocates. We recommend that government continue to support bilingual-bicultural education but that they redefine the objectives. The new definitions should clearly describe maintenance-enrichment objectives. This program encourages quality education.

High-quality remedial reading is a promising approach. Although studies have not demonstrated success, funding should continue for a few more years. During this time a careful analysis should be made to determine the reasons for the apparent failure. A number of variables are operative. Present research is of low quality and should be improved. Most remedial reading programs can be enhanced; more teacher training, smaller groups, and better materials may help. There is reason to believe that remediation should be more intensive and perhaps concentrated at higher grade levels. It may be more effective at the secondary level than at the primary. If, after careful study, the results are still negative, governmental support for remedial reading should be eliminated. Support should be directed elsewhere.

In almost 15 years of efforts to upgrade Mexican Americans through compensatory and remedial programs, the obvious may have been overlooked: The personal, or intrinsic, reward for attending school is very small for most Chicanos. Two actions are possible:

Improve the school to make participation fulfilling and self-rewarding, or increase the extrinsic rewards. The former is preferable; in its absence the extrinsic reward could be artificially provided. Older students might receive a salary to attend school. Parents of younger children could be paid for their own support and intervention to improve school performance. Satisfactory schoolwork could be related to the stipend. High-quality school performance would bring a larger stipend. It is far better to earn money by satisfactorily participating in school than to leave for low-wage work with few future opportunities. This recommendation will undoubtedly incur the displeasure of many, but it could be a viable and appropriate solution. Stipends might improve academic performance and school behavior more than any compensatory program. Governmental support would go directly to the consumer instead of to the school. We think it could work.

Most traditional compensatory and remedial programs, as well as their contemporary variations, have not demonstrated their effectiveness. Radical approaches to better school performance should be considered. Although the ultimate solution is to improve the general quality of schools, it may be appropriate to experiment with direct reward to the children or to their parents. New approaches, better evaluation, and a new philosophy based on cultural sufficiency and institutional deficiency are required.

Quality education

Attempts to remodel Chicano children will continue to fail. The school must base its programs on the assumption of Chicano cultural sufficiency rather than deficiency. Practically, the school cannot change poor children into the middle-class ideal; morally, it should not attempt it. The school should focus on efforts to improve the quality of education, and radical changes to induce it to perform its social and educational roles fairly and adequately must be fostered.

Modifications of the school to eliminate components that discourage the success of Chicano children, or to incorporate elements assumed to encourage it, are rare. School conditions that contribute to success or failure are not clearly established; much discussion of them is conjecture. How successful would maintenance-enrichment bilingual schools be? No one really knows. Would the elimination of rigid tracking encourage higher academic achievement, discourage mutual stereotyping, and improve race relations, as suggested? Would improvement of school social climate effect change? Again, no one knows for sure. It is not certain that even the ideal school will be capable of encouraging intrinsic reward, achievement, attainment, and equal educational benefit. The ideal school could continue to recycle the poor into low social status. Perhaps only radical changes in the social and economic order can eliminate the perpetuation of a poverty caste. To come to at least a partial resolution of these questions, we must learn a great deal more about schools.

Although limited evidence indicates that nontraditional schools improve achievement and attainment, much more information is needed. Experiments must be encouraged and alternative institutions carefully studied. The next 10 years should address this question openly and directly. The conditions of quality education should be determined and all our efforts directed toward implementing them.

What is quality education? The need to examine the concept and determine its attributes increases daily. Not only Chicanos but many other students are turned off by existing schools. The more the decision makers realize that compensatory and remedial as well as standard school programs do not reach their objectives, the greater will be the demand for alternative approaches. Quality education (1) equalizes benefits – the poor are not recycled; (2) improves school holding power and academic performance; (3) involves all elements of a school or school system; (4) effects radical improvements in the total school social climate; (5) demands the total elimination of all institutional racism and bias; and (6) creates an environment where participation provides its own reward.

Most of these elements are missing in most Southwestern schools. Public schools will not radically improve themselves. Quality education will be encouraged by pressure from forces outside the profession. Although there are exceptions, Southwestern educators are unable either to analyze their schools objectively or to make the modifications necessary to encourage minority-group success. Most institutions seem static: "The structure has become too intricate, or too rigid, or the idea of function has faded from the minds of the functionaries (Waller 1961, p. 422). The functionaries of the school appear to be overly concerned with maintaining their own positions, which are guaranteed by continuance in the institutional status quo. The professed objectives of American education—equal opportunity, reaching maximum potential—are increasingly voiced by educators, but all too often they seem like shallow utterances. The means to the ends are likely to impede their realization. School practices, curriculums, overreliance on testing, and rigid ability grouping can inhibit the achievement of such exemplary goals. These conditions are often the foundations of an individual educator's power, prestige, and income. Schools are frequently guided by the need for self-preservation and self-justification.

The most promising changes during the last decade were not necessarily the results of efforts to improve the quality of education for Mexican Americans. Most derived from a combination of forces to equalize opportunity. Only bilingual-bicultural education is the outgrowth of educator initiative. The other institutional improvements were mandated by judicial and legislative action, which in turn had popular support. The bilingual-bicultural experiment is the most educationally exciting. The few maintenance-enrichment projects showed great promise of revitalizing the total school. Institutional social climate seemed radically improved, the curriculum appeared more relevant, expectations were high. Learners seemed to gain personal gratification from learning in Spanish and English. Staff excitement about, and dedication to, the process of program development and implementation contributed greatly to success. Although the community supported the projects, the teachers and administrators initiated them. Outside pressure was helpful but did not originate the changes in the school.

The three branches of government have directed schools to change. The courts have played the major role by eliminating institutional racism, bias, and discrimination. The legislative and executive branches attempted to carry out the directives, with varying degrees of success. These efforts have led to a higher quality of education by encouraging equal-status interaction among ethnic groups, by helping to eliminate curricular bias, and by promoting relevance with the inclusion in the curriculum of previously slighted or stereotyped materials. Additionally, the courts acted to enforce the civil rights and civil liberties of students. This has allowed greater self-expression and naturalness in student behavior. The elimination of institutional racism is far from complete: Many school mechanisms still subordinate ethnic groups and the poor, although schools can be directed to eliminate these practices. Educators rarely act affirmatively to overcome discrimination. Courts can order the elimination of injustice – they cannot implement justice. The future of governmental efforts to eliminate school discrimination will depend on popular interest and action. Governmental intervention is the most, perhaps only, effective way to eliminate discrimination. Strong community interest will be required to monitor the school, and strong community pressure will be necessary to make equality an integral part of quality education.

Some communities have increased their involvement. Although formal participation in decision making is minimal, community members are active in other areas. Schools today more adequately reflect the ethnic and racial composition of the community. More minorities are in teaching and staff positions. Unfortunately, desegregation in the Southwest appears to be grinding to a halt without having demonstrated its potential for quality education. Unless concerted pressure is maintained, efforts to incorporate the community in the school will decrease in the next 10 years.

The Chicano movement and related movements of the last decade made an important contribution to quality education. For the first time the culture, tradition, and history of minorities entered the formal curriculum in a meaningful way. While the presentation was often superficial, stereotypical, and inadequate, this represents a turning away from monolithic culture and toward cultural pluralism. It also represents a feeble but important effort to project social reality into the highly idealized and glorified presentation of the American tradition. The future of this positive effort is uncertain: Two forces will probably collide. The curricular focus on social reality, problem solving, and decision making will confront the curricular focus on moral certainty, national pride, and respect for established authority. Each will reflect powerful sentiments that cross ethnic and racial divisions.

The cultural determinist philosophy itself, in a perverse way, has had an influence on quality education. The compensatory education movement has encouraged evaluation of program effectiveness as well as research into the psychological attributes of minority children. These actions have intensified questions concerning the role and function of the school in society, prevalent assumptions about the personality and cultural characteristics of Chicanos and the poor in general, and prevailing ideas about the causes of poverty and discrimination. It is hoped that from this will come a recognition that the school cannot remodel children into idealized Americans. The bankruptcy of deprivationist ideas may lead to a new, realistic examination of the institutional and social forces that perpetuate poverty and discrimination. If quality education is to become the major goal, the thinking of most educators and politicians must change: Superficial solutions and pat answers must be replaced by an understanding of the complexity of the problem. The reversal of present thinking will be slow and painful. Rapid progress can be made toward quality education if certain conditions are met.

First, the increasing dissatisfaction with schools should be viewed as positive. For diverse reasons, many people think the school has failed to fulfill its mission. Formal study of these complaints and clarification through public debate should be fostered.

Second, the ultimate withdrawal of funds to support compensatory education must be translated into a movement to ensure quality education. This can be accomplished if steps are taken to minimize the human dislocations resulting from removal of financial support. Most staff employed on "soft money" should be continued, with their positions defined in new ways to assist the effort toward quality education. The elimination of compensatory education will be resisted strongly by many persons if they lose their positions because of it.

Third, educators should be encouraged to assume the initiative in eradicating the negative aspects of the school. They must somehow be freed of their normal need to be institutionally defensive and self-justifying. This will be difficult because the school is dependent on, and influenced by, powerful conservative community and professional groups. It is personally and professionally dangerous to critically examine the hand that feeds you. Some method must be found to liberate the educators. For example, it may be possible to finance joint community-school study of institutional racism. With the aid of outside help and under strict guidelines, but with school management, the negative aspects of the school could be studied in a safe environment. Self-initiated solution would thus be encouraged. Outside funds might be withheld from districts that fail to undertake self-study or fail to eliminate conditions assumed or found to be detrimental to the poor and minorities. Some form of reward to the school, however, would probably have better results by ensuring a more positive school climate.

Fourth, institutional change itself should be rewarded. Because little pressure for substantive reform will come from the educational establishment, procedures should be implemented to encourage and support large-scale experimentation. Federal or state funds should be used as catalysts of change. Substantial amounts could be made available to districts or individual schools willing to undertake radical modifications. To our knowledge, this approach has never seriously been considered or attempted. In the past, huge amounts of money have been offered by the government with the demand that the school provide specific services or programs, or eliminate specific practices. Rarely were educators convinced, dedicated, or enthused about such activities. Rarely were funded programs based on the initiative or desires of those most intimately involved. Federal funds rewarded tacit acceptance of predetermined solutions. Rewards should be given to educators who develop quality education for their own institutions. Federal grants should go to educators who initiate institutional self-study, analyze and evaluate themselves, design and develop their own solutions, implement and evaluate their own efforts. Guidelines should be as loose as possible – outside funds should be used in any legal way desired by those who implement their own experiments. The educators could reward themselves with higher salaries, for example, or new TV equipment. Reward should be for self-conscious experimentation and should go to those who are willing to take on the burden. Guidelines should specify that the total institution be involved, that an all-encompassing and comprehensive plan be developed, and that outside technical assistance be accepted. These outside change catalysts would not direct the experiment but would provide technical assistance in self-study and program development. A new kind of nondirective consultant would be required. This approach recognizes the importance of self-study and self-initiated change. Short of social revolution or extreme pressure from outside, it is doubtful that any substantial change will be accomplished unless the majority of a given school or system want it.

Fifth, change and experimentation should be carefully studied. One important outgrowth of relatively widespread experimentation should be objective knowledge about the causes of institutional change itself. It would be very useful to know what precipitates change and under what conditions certain approaches or interventions result in the outcomes associated with quality education. At the present time we know very little about the psychosocial dynamics of institutional experimentation or change. For instance, $8 million was spent on the Edgewood School Plan. We learned about student outcomes and student attributes but almost nothing about institutional dynamics. We don't know why the Edgewood experiment apparently failed.

Drastic approaches are essential to encourage institutional movement toward quality education for Chicanos and all children. Ideally, schools will not have to be coerced by outside forces. Realistically, however, increased community pressure and government intervention will probably be required. Educators need help to understand these pressures and to react constructively to them. Quality education must replace the inadequacy of the deprivationist rationale and the failure of school programs based on it. To define, develop, and implement quality education will take a great deal of national effort.

CLOSING THOUGHTS

Chicanos are faced with a serious dilemma: Compensatory education does not work, and the conditions that contribute to their academic failure have not significantly changed. The aggregate of low teacher expectations, defeatism, irrelevance, rigid instruction, tracking, and the many other unjust practices described engenders a negative school social environment. This plays a crucial part in the poor school record of Mexican Americans. Most schools provide little intrinsic reward, particularly in the higher grade levels. Yet the improvement of the school social climate through the elimination of the negative conditions enumerated is rarely, if ever, seriously attempted.

The acceptance by conservatives and liberals of compensatory and remedial approaches has resulted in new classes and programs, although little substantive modification has resulted. With the elimination of outside financial support, these programs will rapidly disappear. When they do, we will discover the school has been little altered by the experience. There will still be a demand for instruction in English only, a reliance on intelligence testing and tracking, an insistence on the neighborhood school, and a demand for the inculcation of middle-class values. The last will probably be increasingly advocated as the dominant society, aware of the alienation and divergence of its young, calls for the reaffirmation of traditional moral and spiritual values and a return to authoritarian and traditional curriculums and methods – to the "basic" school. The countermovement may well be a demand for a quality of education that incorporates more liberal and progressive thinking. Steps must be taken to ensure that the positive actions of the last decade are perpetuated.

The future of Chicano schooling depends largely on the trends set by political and economic as well as educational institutions. Governmental action stems from the political and economic climate of the times. Problems of the poor are no longer a priority of our society. The Chicano and civil rights movements no longer confront our collective awareness. The Mexican American remains poorly educated, economically disadvantaged, and politically underrepresented. Some improvement has taken place; much remains to be accomplished.

Appendix A

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán

ANONYMOUS

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage, but also of the brutal "Gringo" invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán, from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.

We are free and able to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our homes, our land, the sweat of our brows, and our hearts. Aztlán belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops, not to the foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the Bronze Continent.

Brotherhood unites us, and love for our brothers makes us a people whose time has come to struggle against the foreign *gabacho* who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. With our hearts in our hands and our hands in the soil, we declare the independence of our Mestizo Nation. We are a Bronze People with a Bronze Culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the Bronze Continent, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos. We are Aztlán.

Aztlán, in the Nahuatl tongue of ancient Mexico, means "the lands to the north." Thus Aztlán refers to what is now known as the southwestern states of the United States.

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán sets the theme: The Chicanos *(La Raza de Bronze)* must use their nationalism as the key or common denominator for mass mobilization and organization. Once we are committed to the idea and philosophy of *El Plan de Aztlán,* we can only conclude that social, economic, cultural, and political independence is

399

the only road to total liberation from oppression, exploitation, and racism. Our struggle then must be the control of our barrios, campos, pueblos, lands, economy, culture, and political life. *El Plan* commits all levels of Chicano society to *La Causa:* the barrio, the campo, the ranchero, the writer, the teacher, the worker, and the professional. The following three points are the basic principles of *El Plan.*

Punto Primero: Nationalism as the key to organization transcends all religious, political, class, and economic factions or boundaries. Nationalism is the common denominator upon which all members of *La Raza* can agree.

Punto Segundo: Organizational Goals:

1. Unity of thought among our people concerning the barrios, the pueblo, the campo, the land, the poor, the middle class, and the professional is committed to liberation of *La Raza.*

2. Economic control of our lives and our communities can only come about by our own talents, sweat, and resources, and by driving the exploiter out of our communities and pueblos. Cultural background and those values which ignore materialism and embrace humanism will bring about the cooperative purchase and distribution of resources and production to sustain an economic base for healthy growth and development. Lands rightfully ours will be fought for and defended. Land ownership will be acquired by the community for the people's welfare. Economic ties of responsibility must be secured by the spirit of nationalism and the Chicano defense units.

3. Education (history, culture, bilingual education, and contributions of *La Raza*) must be relevant to our people. There must be community control of our schools and our teachers.

4. Institutions shall serve our people by providing the services necessary for a full life and well-being on the basis of restitution, not handouts or beggar's crumbs. Restitution must be made for past economic slavery, political exploitation, ethnic and cultural psychological destruction, and denial of civil and human rights. Institutions in our community which do not serve the people have no place in the community. The institutions belong to the people.

5. Self-defense of the community must rely on the combined strength of the people. The front-line defense will come from the barrios, the campos, the pueblos, and the *ranchitos.* Those involved as protectors of their people will be given respect and dignity. They, in

turn, offer their lives for their people. Those who place themselves on the line for their people do so out of love and *carnalismo*. Those institutions which are fattened by our brothers to provide employment and political pork barrels for the Gringo will fulfill their purpose only by acts of liberation by *La Causa*. The very young will no longer commit acts of juvenile delinquency, but will perform revolutionary acts.

6. Cultural values of our people strengthen our identity and give moral backbone to the movement. Our culture unites and educates the family of *La Raza* toward liberation with one heart and one mind. We must ensure that our writers, poets, musicians, and artists produce literature and art that is appealing to our people and related to our revolutionary culture. Our cultural values of life, family, and home will serve as powerful weapons to defeat the Gringo dollar-value system and encourage the process of love and brotherhood.

7. Political liberation can come only through independent action on our part, since the two-party system is like an animal with two heads that feed from the same trough. Where we are a majority, we will control; where we are a minority, we will represent a pressure group. Nationally, we will represent one party—*La Familia de La Raza*.

Punto Tercero: Action:

1. There shall be an awareness of *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*. This shall be presented at every meeting, demonstration, confrontation, courthouse, institution, administration, church school, tree, building, car, and every other place of human existence.

2. On September 16, the birthdate of Mexican Independence, there shall be a national walkout by all Chicanos from all colleges and schools, to be sustained until the revision of the educational system is complete. Its policymakers, administration, curriculum, and personnel must meet the needs of our community.

3. Self-defense against the occupying forces of the oppressors must be provided at every school, using every available man, woman, and child.

4. There must be a community nationalization and organization of all Chicanos to carry out *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*.

5. An economic program to drive the exploiter out of our communities and a welding of our people's combined resources to control their own production through cooperative effort must be realized.

6. The creation of an independent, local, regional, and national political party is necessary.

The liberation of our nation so that it is autonomously free—culturally, socially, economically, and politically—will enable it to make its own decisions on the usage of lands, the taxation of goods, the utilization of human bodies for war, the determination of justice (reward and punishment), and the profit of our sweat.

El Plan de Aztlán is the plan of liberation!

Appendix B

Spanish-Surname Populations in Seven Colleges and Universities, 1966–67*

	Men		*Women*	
Class	*Number*	*Percentage*†	*Number*	*Percentage*‡
Freshman	610	15.60	396	10.13
Sophomore	423	10.82	229	5.86
Junior	562	14.38	248	6.35
Senior	531	13.59	228	5.83

* Total combined enrollment of Spanish-surname students at University of Arizona, University of California at Riverside, University of Colorado, California State University at Los Angeles, Northern Arizona University, University of Texas, and New Mexico Highlands University.

† Percentage of all men enrolled

‡ Percentage of all women enrolled

Appendix C

Summary of Findley and Bryan's Study*

This is a summary in nontechnical language of related information in the supporting sections. It summarizes them in a sequential series of statements that follow. If these are read in sequence, they form a logical argument or brief in support of the recommendations.

A few preliminary statements will help make the meaning of the conclusions clearer. Conclusions are to be read in the light of the general notion that effects are more favorable or less damaging as one progresses from situation D1 to situation D4 defined below.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENTS

A. As used here, ability grouping is the practice of organizing *classroom groups* in a graded school to put together children of a given age and grade who have most nearly the same standing on measures or judgments of learning achievement or capability.

B. Grouping and regrouping *within a classroom* for instruction in particular subjects is an accepted and commended instructional practice. It is *not* to be considered ability grouping in the sense in which that term is used here.

C. Ability grouping may be based on a single test, on teacher judgment, or on a composite of several tests and/or judgments.

D. Ability grouping in a school district may take one of several forms, but chiefly one of four varieties:

1. Ability grouping of children in all school activities on the same basis.

2. Ability grouping for all learning of basic skills and knowledge on the same basis, but association with the generality of children of the same age in physical education and recreation.

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* Source: Classification materials, excerpted from Warren G. Findley and Miriam M. Bryan, *Ability Grouping: 1970, Status, Impact, and Alternatives*, pp. 351–354.

3. Ability grouping for learning of basic *academic* skills and knowledge on the same basis, but association with the generality of children of the same grade in less academic activities, including physical education, art, music, and dramatics.

4. Ability grouping for learning of individual subjects or related subjects on different bases related to progress in mastering the different areas (for example, language arts versus mathematics), but association with the generality of children of the same grade in nonacademic areas. This has sometimes been referred to as "achievement grouping."

E. Ability grouping in the first grades, usually the first six or eight grades, is generally by assignment to single classroom teachers for instruction in most subjects.

F. Ability grouping in the last grades, usually in junior and senior high school, is generally by assignment *within* programs of study (college preparatory, commercial, vocational, general).

G. At high school, assignment to a curriculum or program of study may be made a part of a total ability grouping program. On the other hand, ability grouping is often accomplished to a degree by a process of self-selection in which individual students choose their programs of study freely or with some regard to prerequisites. In essential respects, the difference between the two methods is analogous to the distinction between de jure and de facto segregation.

H. Ability grouping practices differ in the degree to which reclassification or reassignment is provided for. Practices vary from little review to systematic review at specified intervals of years or more often.

I. Ability grouping may be limited to provision for extreme groups.

J. Special education for mentally retarded children is to be distinguished from general ability grouping, but needs to be considered a special case subject to examination and report here.

K. Provision of advanced subjects for limited numbers of superior students is to be distinguished from ability grouping applied to all students of a grade group, but needs to be considered a special case subject to examination and report here.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Ability grouping is widely practiced in American school systems.

2. Ability grouping is especially characteristic of larger school systems.

3. Ability grouping is more common in higher grades than in earlier grades.

4. Homogeneous grouping by ability across the subjects of the school curriculum is impossible. Groups homogeneous in one field or subfield will prove heterogeneous in other fields. Thus, children grouped by reading score or "intelligence" will overlap considerably in mathematics achievement.

5. Ability grouping is widely approved by school teachers and administrators.

6. Although unqualified approval of ability grouping is widespread among teachers, disporportionate numbers express preference for teaching mixed, average, or superior classroom groups over teaching lower-achieving groups.

7. Substantial educational research on streaming (homogeneous grouping) in England's schools indicates that the most detrimental effect is caused by assigning "prostreaming" teachers to "nonstreamed" classes. The generalization also applies to American schools.

8. Socioeconomic and social class differences are increased by streaming, reduced by nonstreaming.

9. Virtually all ability grouping plans depend on tests of aptitude or achievement as an integral feature.

10. Ability grouping, as practiced, produces conflicting evidence of usefulness in promoting improved scholastic achievement in superior groups, and almost uniformly unfavorable evidence for promoting scholastic achievement in average or low-achieving groups. Put another way, some studies offer positive evidence of effectiveness of ability grouping in promoting scholastic achievement in high-achieving groups; studies seldom show improved achievement in average or low-achieving groups.

11. The effect of ability grouping on the affective development of children is to reinforce (inflate?) favorable self-concepts of those assigned to high achievement groups, but also to reinforce unfavorable self-concepts in those assigned to low achievement groups.

12. Low self-concept operates against motivation for scholastic achievement in all individuals, but especially among those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and minority groups.

13. Children from unfavorable socioeconomic backgrounds tend to score lower on tests and to be judged less accomplished by teachers than children from middle-class homes. This discrepancy is more marked as children grow older and approach adulthood.

14. The effect of grouping procedures is generally to put low achievers of all sorts together and deprive them of the stimulation of middle-class children as learning models and helpers.

15. Low achievers include many disruptive children who have failed to acquire constructive school attitudes as well as children with low and slow achievement patterns.

16. Children of many minority groups (Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Indian American) come disproportionately from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

17. The source of disadvantage for some minority groups (Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Indian American) derives in part from the fact that teaching and testing in schools are usually entirely in English, which for them is a "second" language.

18. The language patterns of black and white children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds often differ so markedly from "standard American" as to make schooling in most schools involve language disability by such language standards. This circumstance has not only the direct effect of making learning more difficult. Indirect effects are also produced via lowered self-concept because of frequent corrections.

19. A fundamental generalization is that differences in socioeconomic backgrounds result in cumulative effects because of early acquired differences in ability to interact profitably with teachers who have middle-class habits and values. Middle-class children come to school prepared to respond to approval by teachers for their prior learning and readiness to respond. Disadvantaged children, especially boys, often have to unlearn assertive, unresponsive behavior in order to participate in a teaching-learning rapport in the classroom.

20. Desegregated classes have greatest positive impact on school learning of socioeconomically disadvantaged children when the proportion of middle-class children in the group is highest. Conversely, when socioeconomically disadvantaged children are in the majority in a class, the effect of grouping is commonly to produce poorer achievement on their part.

21. Assignment to low achievement groups carries a stigma that is generally more debilitating than relatively poor achievement in heterogeneous groups.

22. A positive dynamic of all instructional programs is constructive stimulation, what J. McV. Hunt calls "the problem of the match"—some stimulation, but not too much, accompanied by supportive encouragement.

23. Formal education, or instruction, makes a difference in ultimate adult capability. How much difference education makes in comparison with other factors is a separate question which is essentially irrelevant.

24. Ability grouping practices are to be distinguished from each other in terms of their underlying strategies for dealing with initial differences among children and the cumulative effect of such differences.

25. Different ability grouping practices show different amounts of differential treatment given to different children after ability grouping has been done. The teaching strategies employed with those classified low often deny stimulation offered to those classified high on the criterion used in grouping. Elsewhere, all those classified in one group are thereafter taught as if almost identical in capability.

26. Of the patterns of ability grouping differentiated in Preliminary Statement D, type D4 generally involves more detailed diagnosis and specific instructional differentiation.

27. There are viable alternatives to ability grouping as means of furthering school learning, including stratified heterogeneous grouping, tutoring, team teaching, and individually programmed instruction.

28. Planned heterogeneous grouping—notably the Baltimore plan of stratified heterogeneous grouping by tens—takes into account simultaneously the concern for curtailing extreme heterogeneity, while assuring enough diversity to give leadership opportunities in each class, providing thereby for stimulation of the less advanced by these leaders, and avoiding the concentration of defeated and stigmatized children in a bottom group almost impossible to inspire or teach.

29. Where older children, themselves academically retarded, are paid to tutor younger children who are having difficulty in learning to read in the elementary grades, both groups gain substantially. In fact, the older children gain even more than the younger ones being tutored. Similar findings apply to writing.

30. Teaching by teams of teachers with different responsibilities, under the leadership of coordinating master teachers, is a fundamental pattern in plans developed for training future elementary school teachers. Departmentalization of instruction may be considered a step in this direction.

31. Individualized instruction by prescription of sequences of learning experiences has been worked out for much of the learning of basic skills and structured knowledge.

32. All four of the above teaching-learning practices can be applied simultaneously. They are mutually compatible.

33. Early childhood education, whether designed to be compensatory or for all children, presents a further supplementary approach.

34. Residential segregation, in the form of concentrations of minority groups in cities and the moving of majority groups to suburbs, plus the organization of private schools along ethnic lines, makes ethnic desegregation within many large cities almost meaningless.

35. The same may be said to a lesser degree of socioeconomic segregation without regard to ethnic distinctions.

36. Ability grouping of the types described in Preliminary Statements D1–D3 has generally undesirable effects on learning and self-concept within like ethnic and socioeconomic groups, which are magnified when the correlated factors of ethnicity and socioeconomic status are involved.

37. Findings of the impact of ability grouping on classroom groups have implications for residential segregation and schooling tied to it. The issues underlying ability grouping and school desegregation are deeply embedded in our society and its culture. The matters reported here are integral parts of a larger social pattern, contributing to the perpetuation or change of that pattern, but largely determined by it.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Ability grouping of the types described in Preliminary Statements D1, D2, and D3 should not be used.

2. Ability grouping of the types described in Preliminary Statement D4 may be used to advantage where the information gained by testing and/or observation is the first step in a program of diagnosis and individualized instruction.

3. Provision should be made for frequent review of each individual's grouping status as part of the instructional program.

4. Tutoring, team teaching, individually programmed instruction, and early childhood education should be explored and exploited for their usefulness in promoting learning.

5. The personality dynamics of the tutoring of younger children by older children, often of modest ability, should be explored and exploited.

6. Heterogeneous grouping, in a classroom atmosphere of cooperation and helping, should be the rule except as indicated under Recommendation 2.

7. Stratified heterogeneous grouping by tens, as practiced in Baltimore, should be utilized and refined.

8. Favorable self-concept should be a goal in itself, but it is also a supportive factor in learning. An attitude of firm confidence and hope by the teacher is fundamental. Techniques for conveying such an attitude can be learned.

9. Teacher training should include an emphasis on welcoming diversity in children, and teaching children to prize it in each other. A particularly important aspect of such diversity is with regard to language and customs of minority groups. Teachers therefore need preservice and/or inservice preparation in language habits and cultural heritages of minority groups to use as the basis for positive acceptance of all kinds of children into the classroom group.

10. Steps should be taken *as early as possible* in each local situation to promote unitary school populations in each district and each classroom. When a district or city has become almost completely a socioeconomically limited population, the possibility of effective desegregation and its constructive impact virtually disappears.

Findley and Bryan clearly recognize the problem of determining the types of ability grouping employed in the nation's schools. They believe that the most common arrangements fall into the following four categories (p. 2):

1. Ability grouping of children in all school activities on the same basis. (tracking)

2. Ability grouping for all learning of basic skills and knowledge

on the same basis, but association with the generality of children of the same age in physical education and recreation. (tracking)

3. Ability grouping for learning of basic academic skills and knowledge on the same basis, but association with the generality of children of the same grade in less academic activities, including physical education, art, music, and dramatics. (tracking)

4. Ability grouping for learning of individual subjects or related subjects on different bases related to progress in mastering areas (for example, language arts versus mathematics), but association with the generality of children of the same grade in nonacademic areas. This has sometimes been referred to as "achievement grouping." (homogeneous grouping)

Appendix D

Description of Edgewood Research Design*

The evaluation design employed in this study was time series and quasi-experimental. Its use in the applied educational setting approximated partial control of relevant variables with certain qualifying exceptions and limitations. Within the framework of this design, the four dimensions of analysis – educational change, educational compatibility, social context, and student impacts – formed the variables for this period of research.

To assess treatment impacts over the intended five-year duration of the Edgewood School Plan (ESP), data were obtained each year as a pretreatment measure of activities and each succeeding year as a post-treatment measure. Data were collected yearly from seven major reference groups: students, teachers, principals, ESP central staff, Edgewood Independent School District Board of Education members, EISD administrators, and parents. Wherever possible, comparison reference groups were used. The data collected from all the groups were synthesized periodically to evaluate the planning process, implementation, and impact of ESP treatments.

This design was intended to be a comprehensive evaluation of the ESP program in a dynamic setting. The design would capture the numerous project treatments attempted, along with simultaneous influences external to, but impinging upon, the project. Such a design was more appropriate than one used to assess a laboratory experiment in which the total environment remains constant and one variable at a time is altered to determine its effect on the target population.

To ascertain cause and effect between treatments and impacts, data were subjected to a two-stage analysis. In the first stage, the Level II team (the external evaluation staff) documented and measured treatments $A_1, A_2, A_3, \ldots A_n$ together with impacts $B_1, B_2, B_3, \ldots B_n$. In the second stage, each treatment was to be associated either logically or statistically with its most probable impact or impacts. Cause and effect, then, would be inferred from a strong association between treatment and impact, analogous to an antecedent consequence relationship.

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* Source: Robert A. Cervantes and Earl Jones, eds., "Abstract of Second Interim Report on the Edgewood School Plan." Washington, D.C.: Development Associates, 1976. Mimeographed.

STUDENT SAMPLING DESIGN

Initially Level II designed a five-year longitudinal tracking system for collecting data on students, the major reference group to be investigated. In the first project year, because of the initiation stage of ESP treatment specification and implementation, Level II tested all students in grades K, 1, 5, 8, and 10 in the ESP and comparison schools. In keeping with the concept of longitudinal tracking of the same students over time, adopted in year one, students in grades K, 2, 6, 9, and 11 were tested in the ESP and comparison schools in the second year of the project.

In the third project year, ESP treatments were designed and implemented to cover all students in grades K, 1, and 2; one-half the students in grades 7 and 8; and 150 students in grade 9. The plan was to expand the treatments to encompass grades K through 12 by 1977. To collect the baseline data needed on students in these grades, Level II conducted supplemental testing in the fall of 1974. Starting in spring 1975, annual testing would cover all grades, K through 12, in the treatment and comparison schools. This would provide most posttreatment test data for the second-year treatment grades and pretreatment data for grades added to the ESP treatment program the following year.

STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF DATA

Each set of evaluation data collected under educational change, educational compatibility, social context, and student impacts was subjected to appropriate statistical treatments to determine discriminatory relationships among the factors or variables and the significance of the findings. These methods ranged from the use of descriptive statistics to the more sophisticated techniques involving quasi-experimental designs. Numerous statistical tests were employed such as the chi-square, analysis of variance (ANOVA), analysis of covariance (ANACOVA), factorial ANOVA's correlation and regression analyses, and trend analysis. Assumptions of normality of distribution, homogeneity of variance, and independence of observations were checked whenever appropriate.

Appendix E

Reports on Edgewood School Plan

The following selected external evaluation reports were prepared by Development Associates staff on the Experimental Schools Program (Edgewood School Plan), San Antonio, Texas. Of the many reports, only those of general interest to educational practitioners are presented here. Not all reports listed were formally approved by the National Institute of Education at the time this bibliography was compiled, although approval was pending. Copies of approved reports may be secured through the ERIC system or the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20202. Inquiries to the principal investigator, Dr. Robert A. Cervantes, and the coprincipal investigator, Dr. Earl Jones, may be directed to them in care of Development Associates, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20036.

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Appendix F

Bilingual Syntax Measure

The Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM) takes 15 minutes to administer. English (BSM-E) and Spanish (BSM-S) each contain 25 simple questions associated with 7 pictures to provide the framework of a conversation with the child. The child's speech in answering these questions yields a numerical level of oral language proficiency, ranging from level one—where the child neither speaks nor comprehends the language in which the test is given—to level five—where the child is as proficient as his or her peers who are native speakers of that language. If both the BSM-Spanish and the BSM-English are administered to the same child, the results can be used to indicate language dominance or bilingualism.

Other, less commonly known language dominance assessment instruments include the James Language Dominance Test (age 5 to 7), published by Learning Concepts; the Oral English/Spanish Proficiency Placement Test (age 4 to 20), published by Mareno Educational Company; Elizabeth Carrow's Test for Auditory Comprehension of Language (age 3 to 7), published by Learning Concepts; the Marysville Test of Language Dominance (age 5 to 16), published by the local school district of Marysville, California; the Utah Test of Language Development (age 1 to 16), published by Communications Research Associates; the Monroe Rogers Language Assessment Scale (age 5 to 12), a district adaptation; the Oral Language Rating (age 5 to adult), published by the Michigan Department of Education.

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